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Pocahontas

BY AN UNKNOWN ARTIST

The Virginia Magazine
OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

VOL. 65 July 1957 NO. 3

THE SMITH-POCAHONTAS STORY IN LITERATURE

by JAY B. HUBBELL*

UNTIL after the American Revolution the founding of the Jamestown colony in 1607 seemed an event of no great historical importance except perhaps to Virginians; and in Colonial times even Virginians rarely remembered the beginnings of the "Ancient Dominion." The eighteenth-century historian, William Stith, expressed surprise and mortification that Virginia gentlemen "seemed to be much alarmed, and to grudge, that a complete History of their own Country would run to more than one Volume, and cost them above half a Pistole."

After the Revolution, however, Americans pointed with increasing pride to the founders of all the thirteen colonies, which as sovereign states had united to form a new and very proud nation. Political orators, historians, and men of letters began to find in Captain John Smith heroic traits which seemed to them characteristically American: indomitable courage, self-reliance, resourcefulness, and faith in the future of the new land. Virginia writers in particular saw in Smith not only the founder of the oldest and largest state in the Union and a worthy forerunner of Washington and Jefferson but also a chivalrous knight errant, the first of the Cavaliers, and the prototype of the Virginia gentleman of the old regime. And Pocahontas, whose name in history and legend is now inseparable from Smith's, was both the guardian angel of the infant colony and the ancestress of distinguished families. In *The Hero in America: A Chronicle of Hero-Worship* (1941) Dixon Wecter rightly began with a chapter on "Captain John Smith and the Indians." Pocahontas and Smith, he noted, "have gone hand in hand to immortality."

*Dr. Hubbell, author of *The South in American Literature, 1607-1900* (Durham, 1954), is Professor Emeritus of American Literature at Duke University.

By 1803, when William Wirt's *The Letters of the British Spy* was published in Richmond, Smith and Pocahontas were already becoming national figures and the demand for a native literature was running high. By that time few families east of the Appalachians had anything to fear from the tomahawk and the scalping knife; and along the Atlantic seaboard at least Americans were willing to admit that the Indians had been greatly wronged and misunderstood. Wirt included in his book two chapters (Letters IV and VI) in which he mentioned visits to the ruins of Jamestown and to Powhatan's deserted village near the falls of the James. "Where," asked the Spy, "is Smith, that pink of gallantry, that flower of chivalry?" He had high praise also for Pocahontas, "the patron deity" of the Jamestown colony; and he wondered why the Virginians had "instituted no festival or order in honour of her memory."

Even before 1820, when Sydney Smith in the *Edinburgh Review* was scornfully asking: "Who reads an American book?" Americans were made to feel that their claim to national greatness must be justified by the production of an important national literature. The vogue of Scott's *Waverley* (1814) and its successors set some of our writers to exploring the nation's brief and rather unromantic past. James Fenimore Cooper, though not our earliest novelist, set the pattern for his successors; and the American Revolution, the frontier, and the period of colonization became the three "matters of American romance." Europeans might regard the American past as plebeian and commonplace, but they could not deny that the frontiersman and the Indian were attractive figures without any close European parallel. Inevitably, the Smith-Pocahontas story with its romantic and tragic incidents attracted the attention of our poets, playwrights, and novelists.

There is an epic quality about the story of the founding of Jamestown which helps to explain its fascination for American writers. The historian of seventeenth-century Virginia, Philip Alexander Bruce, went so far as to write:

> The remote past of the oldest part of the Southern States offers the most splendid theme to be found in the entire range of modern events for an epic comparable with the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey;* this is the ever memorable embarkation from London for Virginia in 1606 of the little band of Englishmen, their long sail across the lonely ocean, their first view of the scented shores of the Chesapeake, and all the heroic and terrible episodes that soon followed, including the idyllic romance of Pocahontas.

(Bruce himself wrote no epic, but he did celebrate Pocahontas in a book of sonnets.) American poets and romancers saw in Captain John Smith a

hero not unlike Vergil's Aeneas, the bearer of an old civilization to a new and better land. The love story of Pocahontas and Smith recalled a famous episode in the *Aeneid;* and the Indian princess was often portrayed as the Dido of disappointed love and sometimes as Lavinia, the Italian bride of Aeneas.

Yet the reader who looks for a great American epic poem among the numerous treatments of Pocahontas must remain content with Stephen Vincent Benét's posthumous and unfinished *Western Star* or Hart Crane's difficult poem, *The Bridge*. The epic poem, like the pastoral, is almost an extinct literary genre. Hundreds of men and women have written about Smith and Pocahontas, but one may still say, as William Gilmore Simms said in 1845, that the subject has been treated "unhappily, in most cases, by very feeble hands." There is no classic treatment of the subject comparable to Longfellow's *The Courtship of Miles Standish,* which made the story of the founding of the Plymouth colony familiar to every literate American.

In the nineteenth century the poets and writers of fiction were – from the historian's point of view – unduly fascinated by the story of Pocahontas' rescue of Smith from death at the hands of Powhatan's executioners. Alexander Brown complained with some cause that romantic and ill-informed writers had neglected other important historical figures of the Jamestown colony. For close to a century some historians have either doubted the truth of the rescue story or regarded it as a matter of slight historical importance. True or not, it has become a part of our American folklore. To use a fashionable term, the story is one of our finest literary "myths" – which does not necessarily mean that the rescue did not take place. In *Let Me Lie* (1947) James Branch Cabell, who does not believe the story of the rescue, noted parallel situations in folk tales and myths:

> Everywhere in folklore does one find this story, of a young man in the power of a ruthless foreign captor, whose daughter falls in love with and releases the prisoner from the cruelty of her father – with the father appearing, variously, as a gaoler, an emperor, a fiend, a sultan, a god, a giant, or a sorcerer – and, with varying sequels. . . . The true point is not at all that Smith plagiarized his story, but the fact that in our Virginian mythology Pocahontas has her fit place, and that, howsoever she became enshrined there, the event was praiseworthy.

Americans are perhaps as much given to myth-making as other peoples; but our early history is better documented than that of older nations, and the disposition to idealize the past has been held in check by literary debunkers, historians, and teachers of history in school and college. Most of

the great literary legends of the world developed, like the greatest of them all, the story of Troy, in those credulous dark ages when there were no printing presses and no historians except the poets.

Here one is tempted to speculate just how the Smith-Pocahontas story might have developed if Virginia had been settled in the "dark backward and abysm of time" when the great Arthurian cycle of stories was taking form. In that event we might now have the fully developed national legend of a gallant knight and explorer who married an Indian princess and became the ancestor of the great Virginia soldiers and statesmen of the Revolution. Indeed, Mark Twain, whose father was born in Virginia, suggested something of the kind in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*. In that novel the illiterate slave Roxana berates her cowardly son, Tom Driscoll, who has been brought up in Missouri as the white son of a Virginia gentleman: "My great-great-great-gran'father en yo' great-great-great-great-gran'father was Ole Cap'n John Smith, de highest blood dat Ole Virginny ever turned out, en *his* great-great-gran-mother or somers along back dah, was Pocahontas de Injin queen, en her husbun' was a nigger king outen Africa — en yit here you is, a-slinkin' outen a duel en disgracin' our whole line like a ornery low-down hound!"

I

Captain John Smith was not only one of the dominant figures in the Jamestown colony; he was also its most important contemporary historian. Hence it is necessary briefly to consider him in his role of historian, for the Pocahontas story comes largely from him and he is our sole authority for the rescue scene. In modern times Smith's reliability as a historian has often been called in question, but so far as we know no one publicly questioned it during his lifetime. About thirty years after his death, however, Thomas Fuller in *The Worthies of England* (1662) described as incredible Smith's account of his exploits in the Balkans. Of Smith's Virginia adventures Fuller remarked: ". . . such his perils, preservations, dangers, deliverances, they seem to most men above belief, to some beyond truth. Yet," Fuller added sarcastically, "have we two witnesses to attest them, the prose and the pictures, both in his own book; and it soundeth much to the diminution of his deeds that he alone is the herald to publish and proclaim them." The skeptical Fuller chose to ignore the evidence of some thirty poems contributed to Smith's *The Generall Historie of Virginia* (1624) by friendly English poets, including George Wither, John Davies of Hereford, and John Donne, the Dean of St. Paul's.

In the early nineteenth century New Englanders were much more inclined to glorify the Pilgrim Fathers than the men who had founded the Jamestown colony thirteen years earlier, but their writers did not wholly neglect Virginia. In *The Little Reader's Assistant* (1791) Noah Webster painted Captain Smith as a hero worthy of admiration by the young. In 1829, Samuel G. Goodrich, author and publisher of the widely-used "Peter Parley" school-books, published in Hartford his *Stories about Captain John Smith, of Virginia, for the Instruction and Amusement of Children.* The book opens with what would seem to have been the quite unnecessary question: "Little boy! have you ever heard of such a state, as *Virginia?*" Like so many children's books of the time, this one now seems insufferably moralistic and condescending. The young John Smith is portrayed as an unrepentant prodigal son, and the biographer moralizes: "How much more useful, and honorable, and happy would he have been, had he stayed at home – had he been sober and industrious; and, especially, had he assisted his mother!" But from the time he set sail for Virginia Smith is portrayed as a useful man, although Goodrich felt compelled to add: "I do not mean to say that he was a pious man." Goodrich had higher praise for Pocahontas: "What a worthy girl was this! She was a savage, but her deed was noble! She [unlike Smith] had never been taught to love her enemies; but she shewed a benevolent disposition. . . . The name of Pocahontas, and her generous deed, ought to be remembered, and will be remembered while America lasts."

In 1860 and again in 1866 a Massachusetts scholar, Charles Deane, expressed grave doubts about Smith's reliability and in particular his account of the rescue. In those years of sectional ill feeling Southerners resented the New Englander's attack upon one of their heroes. One Southern newspaper, as Deane remembered in 1885, went so far as to ask: "Is it not enough that the ruthless Yankee has devastated our fields and ruined our homes and slain our children? Must he also despoil the tomb? Will he not rest until he has rifled our very history of our choicest traditions, and stolen the highest jewels of our romance?"

Deane's motives were above reproach, but that is rather more than can be said for the motives of the eminent New England historian, Henry Adams, whose earliest venture into historical criticism appeared in January 1867 under the caption, "Myth of Pocahontas Exploded." In *The Education of Henry Adams* he tells us that it was an older New England historian, John G. Palfrey, who "suggested to Adams, who wanted to make a position for himself, that an article in the *North American Review* on Captain John

Smith's relations with Pocahontas would attract as much attention, and probably break as much glass, as any other stone that could be thrown by a beginner. . . . The task seemed likely to be amusing." In his article Adams represented Smith as an incompetent official, an unreliable historian, and an incurably vain man. When Adams republished the article in his *Historical Essays* in 1891,[1] he ignored his Southern critics. He would in fact have found it quite difficult to refute some of the shrewd criticisms which William Wirt Henry had made in an address to the Virginia Historical Society in 1882.

Later historians have expressed divergent estimates of Smith's reliability, but they no longer divide on sectional lines. Three notable Northern historians, John Fiske, Charles M. Andrews, and James Truslow Adams (not related to Henry Adams), have held that, as Adams phrased it, "There is nothing inherently improbable in the [rescue] story." John Spencer Bassett, a North Carolinian, had written: "By every canon of good criticism we must reject the story." The most persistent critic of Smith's veracity was a Virginian and a Confederate veteran, Alexander Brown, who devoted his later years to a study of the first years of the Jamestown colony. He would certainly have agreed with the Harvard historian, Albert Bushnell Hart, who numbered Smith among the "American historical liars." Another Harvard historian, Samuel Eliot Morison, has pointed out that New England, which has not cherished Smith's memory, owes almost as much as Virginia to Smith's explorations, maps, and various writings.

A thoroughgoing study of Smith as a historian came from a young assistant professor of history at Brown University, Jarvis M. Morse, who in May 1935 published in the *Journal of Southern History* an article entitled "John Smith and His Critics: A Chapter in Colonial Historiography." Morse reexamined the evidence with great care and skill and reached the conclusion that "Captain John Smith ranks as one of the few great [American] historians of the seventeenth century. His only American rivals, Edward Johnson, Nathaniel Morton, William Hubbard and Increase Mather, occasionally surpassed him in accuracy of detail but never equalled him in breadth of interest or comprehension."[2]

---

[1]Under the title "Captaine John Smith" the essay had been republished in 1871 in *Chapters of Erie, and Other Essays* by Henry Adams and his brother Charles Francis Adams, Jr.

[2]In his *American Beginnings* (1952) Morse reaffirmed his earlier estimate and added: "With considerable justification can Captain John Smith lay claim to the title 'Father of Anglo-American History'. . . ." Morse's conception of history, it might be added, embraces much more than is implied in the old definition, "past politics."

The scholar who in our time has contributed most to the rehabilitation of Captain John Smith is, appropriately enough, yet another Smith – Bradford Smith, the biographer of William Bradford, the great leader of the Plymouth colony. In 1953 Bradford Smith published the best of the many biographies, *Captain John Smith: His Life and Legend*. The biographer confesses that when he began his research, he was a skeptic, but notes that before he completed it, he was convinced that Captain John Smith was one of the authentic American heroes.

Bradford Smith was fortunate enough to be able to enlist the services of an able collaborator, the Hungarian-American scholar, Mrs. Laura Polanyi Striker. It had long been felt that Captain Smith's *True Travels* was his least credible book, especially after an earlier Hungarian writer, Lewis Kropf, in 1890 had maintained that the *True Travels* was so filled with errors that one could not believe Captain Smith was ever in the Balkans. Those familiar with Kropf's arguments felt that if one could not accept Smith's accounts of earlier rescues by the "beauteous Lady Tragabigzanda" and "the charitable Lady Callamata," there was certainly little reason for believing that the "blessed Pokahontas, the great Kings Daughter of *Virginia*" ever saved his life. But now that Dr. Striker has shown that the *True Travels* is authentic autobiography and not a romantic novel, it is much easier to believe that Smith really experienced the Virginia adventures which are narrated in his other works.

One of the rare source materials which Bradford Smith consulted was a manuscript life of Captain John Smith written in Latin in 1685 by the Anglican historian and divine, Henry Wharton (1664-1695), and preserved in Lambeth Palace in London. At Bradford Smith's suggestion Dr. Striker has translated the manuscript, and it has just been published for the Virginia Historical Society by the University of North Carolina Press under the title *The Life of John Smith, English Soldier*. In her introductory essay, "Captain John Smith in Seventeenth-Century Literature," Dr. Striker argues convincingly that among Wharton's sources there was a manuscript, now lost, which gave an account of Smith's adventures in the Balkans somewhat different from the two published versions. Wharton adds little to what is known of Smith's stay in Virginia, but he makes it clear that the Captain's difficulties with some other Colonial leaders were due largely to the fact that he was a commoner and a professional soldier among gentlemanly adventurers who looked upon him as a social inferior.

Bradford Smith, who has done much to rehabilitate Smith as a historian, is fully aware of the literary value of the Smith-Pocahontas story. He writes:

"We owe as much to John Smith as a legend, a symbol, as we owe to the actual man. And it is very hard to separate them — a sure sign of durability." He sees in Smith "our Odysseus, our Siegfried, our Aeneas." He adds:

> The popular myth of Plymouth or Jamestown is neither fiction nor fact. It is history interpreted through the emotions of those who receive it, it is history somewhat simplified but essentially true. It is our good fortune to possess a folk myth which corresponds with the facts, to be able to believe a story which not only should have been, but was.

The chief circumstance which has led historians and biographers to question the truth of the rescue story is that in *A True Relation* (1608), Smith's first published account of his captivity among the Indians, either he failed to mention it or else his London printer omitted the passage. Pocahontas had been dead for seven years when Smith's fullest account of the incident appeared in *The Generall Historie of Virginia* in 1624. Yet in that book he published what he claimed was an "abstract" of a letter that he had addressed to the Queen in 1616, when Pocahontas and her husband were in London. By 1624 Pocahontas and John Rolfe were dead, but the Queen was still living; and Smith with enemies in London would hardly have dared to claim that in 1616 he had written to her: "After some six weeks fatting amongst those Salvage Courtiers, at the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her owne braines to save mine; and not onely that, but so prevaild with her father, that I was safely conducted to *James* towne."

If Smith invented the story of the rescue, it is strange that in his final and fullest account of this extraordinary scene he gave it only part of one long and formless sentence in a folio volume of 248 pages:

> . . . having feasted him after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before *Powhatan*: then as many as could layd hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs, to beate out his braines, *Pocahontas* the Kings dearest daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne upon his to save him from death: whereat the Emperour was contented he should live to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper. . . .

If the Captain had expected this incident to be better remembered than any other of his many substantial achievements and thrilling adventures, surely he would have expanded and embroidered this bare outline of a great romantic episode.

In one of the better biographies, *John Smith — Also Pocahontas* (1928), the Southern poet, John Gould Fletcher, asserted: "It was the universal practice among Indian tribes to grant the life of a captive, white or red, only at the instance of some favourite squaw; and Pocahontas was notoriously Powhatan's favourite daughter." To illustrate this supposed Indian custom, Fletcher retold a parallel story which is found in the narrative of the Portuguese Gentleman of Elvas, who accompanied De Soto on his disastrous expedition. De Soto's guide was Juan Ortiz, a Spaniard who had been captured by Florida Indians twelve years earlier. At that time the Indian chieftain, Ucita, had condemned Ortiz to be burned alive; but his daughter interceded, "telling him, that it was more for his honour to keepe him as a Captive"; and so Ortiz was released and given "the charge of the keeping of the temple."[3]

The Ortiz story, however, can be used to discredit Smith's own account of the rescue, and it is so used in James Branch Cabell's *Let Me Lie* (1947). In his *Ladies and Gentlemen* (1934) Cabell had already treated the rescue story as a "myth," possibly derived from the Miranda-Ferdinand episode in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. An English translation of the narrative of the Gentleman of Elvas, as Cabell notes, was published in London in 1609. There was a second edition in 1611. Smith was living in London and he may very well have read the narrative, as Cabell assumes that he did. In *Let Me Lie*, Cabell's spokesman, Alonzo Juan Hernandez [Professor Alfred Jackson Hanna of Rollins College] says:

> . . . we can imagine the chagrin with which John Smith, in reading his friend's [Hakluyt's] spirited translation, observed with what ease the fine episode of this rescue by an Indian princess could have been adjusted to some one or other of the many daughters of Powhatan; but, alas, Smith's own book [*A True Relation*] had been printed a few months earlier; and he was thus compelled to wait, for fifteen years, until the death of Pocahontas in England, as a figure of some casual notoriety, had afforded to him a chance to reprint selected portions of the story of Juan Ortiz as being his own story. He did not pretend to any intimacy with Pocahontas until after she had become celebrated and was safely dead.

Later biographers and historians are somewhat less skeptical than Mr. Cabell. Bradford Smith does not find the story of the rescue improbable. The accuracy of the rescue story is of vital importance to the serious poet, dramatist, or novelist who wishes to give it literary form; but the historians usually regard the story as relatively unimportant. Jarvis M. Morse rele-

[3]Richard Henry Wilde's once popular poem, "My Life Is Like the Summer Rose," was inspired by the story of Ortiz' captivity and is more properly entitled "The Captive's Lament."

gated to a long footnote his own conclusion: "Whatever mental reservations one may have as to the probability of the incident, by no sound application of the laws of historical testimony can it be disproved, save by the appearance of contrary evidence yet undiscovered." Since Smith is our sole authority for the story, most of us accept or reject it on the basis of our faith, or lack of faith, in his veracity. One may, however, adopt the position taken by Albert Keiser in his *The Indian in American Literature* (1933):

> Whatever may be adduced in favor of Smith's veracity in general and in regard to the Pocahontas incident in particular, falls still short of being entirely convincing, for a number of troublesome points still remain unexplained and inexplicable. . . . The truth will probably never be known, and as the pros and cons carry about equal weight, judgment may well be suspended.

II

Although Smith nowhere states that Pocahontas was in love with him or he with her – she was apparently a child of ten or twelve at the time of the rescue – he or one of his collaborators in *The Generall Historie* does state that he might have married her if he had wished, that he had in fact been accused of planning to marry her and make himself King of Virginia, and, finally, that she married Rolfe believing that Smith was dead. Romantic love as the explanation of her friendship for the whites is a natural inference. The anonymous English writer who published in the *London Magazine* in 1755 *A Short Account of the British Plantations in America* concluded:

> Pocahontas easily prevailed with her father and her countrymen to allow her to indulge her passion for the captain, by often visiting the fort, and always accompanying her visits with a fresh supply of provisions; therefore it may justly be said, that the success of our first settlement in America, was chiefly owing to the love this young girl had conceived for Capt. Smith, and consequently in this instance, as well as in many others,
>
> *Love does all that's great below!*

Attractive as the Smith-Pocahontas story seems at first glance, it presents difficulties to those who would treat it in drama or fiction. The big scene, the rescue, comes in the first act, so to speak; and the rest of the story is anticlimactic. One of the first writers to call attention to the epic aspects of the story, the Irish-American historian of Virginia, John Daly Burk, expressed a fear that his readers would "vent their spleen against the historian, for impairing the interest of his plot, by marrying the princess of Powhatan

to a Mr. Rolfe, of whom nothing had previously been said, in defiance of all the expectations raised by the foregoing parts of the fable."

The first writer of any importance to exploit the story of Smith and Pocahontas in fiction was not an American but the English traveler and novelist, John Davis, who spent more than fifteen years (1798-1802, 1805-1817) in this country, most of them in Virginia.[4] Davis, when he aspired to a literary career, was shrewd enough to see that there were rich and as yet unexploited materials in the New World. The earliest of his four versions of the Pocahontas story was, awkwardly enough, introduced into his novelette, *The Farmer of New Jersey* (1800). An improved version appeared in his *Travels* (1803). Here Davis introduced his short story by describing his meeting with a group of friendly Indians at Occoquan in northern Virginia. In the group he saw a charming girl of seventeen who "appeared such another object as the mind images *Pocahontas* to have been." Davis's Captain Smith has "every quality of a hero," but he does not respond to Pocahontas, who falls in love with him at first sight. There is an extraordinary scene in which Rolfe woos and wins the Indian princess beside the imaginary grave of Captain Smith, which she has come to bedeck with flowers. "The breast of woman," explains Davis, "is, perhaps, never more susceptible of a new passion than when it is agitated by the remains of a former one." Rolfe's wooing is not so convincingly presented as the somewhat similar wooing of Shakespeare's Richard III. In 1805 Davis, now back in this country for his second and longest stay, published in Philadelphia his novelette, *Captain Smith and Princess Pocahontas;*[5] and in New York later in the same year he brought out his full-length novel, *The First Settlers of Virginia.* The short story in the *Travels* is in some ways better than the longer versions, for in them the love story is almost buried under more or less irrelevant historical materials. In these later versions Davis borrowed heavily and without acknowledgment from the historians William Robertson and Jeremy Belknap, often merely substituting the first person for the third. The best that can be said for Davis's various versions of the story is that his Pocahontas comes nearer to being a real Indian woman than most of those found in later novels, poems, and plays.

The first native American playwright to dramatize the Smith-Pocahontas story was a Philadelphian, James Nelson Barker, at one time Comptroller

[4]Earlier treatments of the Pocahontas story are found in Mrs. Unca Eliza Winkfield's *The Female American* (London, 1767), reprinted in this country in 1790 and 1814, and in Johann Wilhelm Rose's *Pocahontas, Schauspiel mit Gesang* (Ansbach [Germany], 1784).

[5]Davis's novelette was reprinted in Dayton, Ohio, in 1837.

of the United States Treasury. The theme of *The Indian Princess,* which was produced in 1808, was apparently suggested by Davis's novelette. Barker's name was among those of persons who subscribed for *Captain Smith and Princess Pocahontas,* and he borrowed from that work certain details which he could have found nowhere else. A better play than Barker's is the *Pocahontas* (1830) of George Washington Parke Custis, the grandson of Martha Washington and father of Mrs. Robert E. Lee. When the play was produced, his wife took a leading part. (Her daughter, Charlotte Barnes Conner, published another Pocahontas play, *The Forest Princess,* in 1840.) Custis showed some ingenuity in making the rescue scene the climax of his play. In order to achieve this effect, however, he had to make a Christian of Pocahontas before her time, and he represented her as theatrically announcing her conversion just before she rescues her Christian friend. Custis made Cavaliers not only of Smith and his followers but also of Rolfe, who may have been a Puritan.

There were many other plays about Pocahontas, including some operettas, but few of them are of any importance now. In Robert Dale Owen's *Pocahontas* (1837) the author's feminist sympathies seem out of place in the mouth of the Indian princess. Among the later plays Mary Virginia Wall's *The Daughter of Virginia Dare* (1908) is remarkable only for the author's attempt to connect Jamestown with the Lost Colony of Roanoke by making Pocahontas the daughter of the first English child born in this country. In view of the dates it would be easier to believe that Pocahontas was Virginia Dare herself.

In 1846 James Rees was writing that plays about Indians had become "a *perfect nuisance.*" About a fourth of them deal with the Pocahontas story. Readers and playgoers were weary of imitations of the Leather-Stocking Tales and, by 1855, of the much-parodied *Song of Hiawatha.* The time was right for a burlesque of the Smith-Pocahontas story. On Christmas Eve, 1855, the English actor-playwright, John Brougham, produced in New York his *Po-ca-hon-tas; or, The Gentle Savage,* an operetta in two acts with Brougham himself in the role of Powhatan. On the title page the operetta is described as "An original aboriginal erratic operatic semi-civilized and demi-savage extravaganza, being a per-version of ye trewe and wonderrefulle hystorie of ye rennownned princesse. . . ." In the published play we are informed that the story is based upon "an *entire epic poem*" found "in the vest pocket of the man in armor, dug up near Cape Cod . . . written by a Danish Poet, the Chevalier Viking, *Long Fellow* of the Norwegian Academy of Music." Brougham turns topsy-turvy both history and traditional ro-

mance. His Indians speak not Cooper's eloquent periods but the latest American slang. The pious Rolfe has become a Dutchman (Rolff) who sings:

> I wish from mein soul all de rocks round about
> Would to sausages turn and the trees to sourcrout,
> The ocean, a vast bowl into *lager* bier roll,
> And I was an earthquake to swallow the whole.

Powhatan presides over a council obviously intended as a burlesque of the American Congress. Pocahontas is a product of the Jamestown Finishing School, and she wishes to perform:

> Some deed of desperation nice and new,
> Something would startle all the world with fright,
> That is, provided it *left* me all *right!*

In the rescue scene she rushes in "heroineically distressed and dishevelled" and cries out: "Husband! for thee *I scream!*" "*Lemon* or *Vanilla?*" coolly asks the brave Captain. When the rescued Smith gratefully proposes to marry her, she cries:

> Stop! One doubt within my heart arises!
> A great historian before us stands,
> *Bancroft* himself, you know, forbids the *banns!*

The resourceful Smith, however, cites precedent for the violation of historical fact: and the Anti-marry-folks-against-their-will Society urges the match on Powhatan, who favors Rolfe. The rivals finally settle the princess' fate by a game of cards. Smith wins and marries her in spite of George Bancroft and the whole tribe of historians.

III

The nineteenth-century poets who wrote about Pocahontas were more numerous than the playwrights, but their portraits of her are no more lifelike. She practically ceased to be an Indian, and except for the color of her skin she might have passed for the conventional romantic heroine. One of the first poets to celebrate her was Joel Barlow, the "Connecticut Wit," who in the fifth book of *The Columbiad* (1807) represented her as a benevolent Medea who helped Jason (Smith) and the other Argonauts to outwit her royal father. In *Letters from Virginia, Translated from the French* (1816) George Tucker, a better essayist and economist than poet, included "The Indian Maid," a ballad in which he retold the story of Pocahontas' night journey to Jamestown to warn Smith that her father was planning

to massacre the settlers. Washington Irving's one-time collaborator, James Kirke Paulding, who visited Virginia in 1816, wrote an "Ode to Jamestown."

In 1841 two New England poets paid tribute to the Indian princess. In her *Pocahontas* Mrs. Lydia Huntley Sigourney, "The Sweet Singer of Hartford," described Pocahontas as "the saviour of the Saxon vine" and at the same time a model of mid-Victorian "modesty, simpleness, and grace." Seba Smith, whose "Jack Downing" letters in the Maine dialect are an important early example of American humor, glorified the noble savage in *Powhatan: A Metrical Romance,* which is remembered only because it occasioned one of Edgar Allan Poe's severest reviews. "The simple truth is," Poe said, "Mr. Downing never committed a greater mistake than when he fancied himself a poet, even in the ninety-ninth degree." Seba Smith, like many another writer who retold the familiar story, prided himself upon his fidelity to historical fact. This, said Poe, was not its principal merit but its "leading fault." "The truth is," he said, "Mr. Downing has never dreamed of any *artistic* arrangement of his facts."

Poe, the greatest of the Virginia poets, wrote no poem about either Smith or Pocahontas, but there were a number of Virginians who did. Their view of Smith was, as John Moncure Daniel put it in prose: "He is the Roland of our early history, and the future Achilles of the Virginian Homer." The name of his hero troubled John Robertson, who in *Virginia: or, The Fatal Patent* (1825) wrote:

> JOHN SMITH, a name not deem'd, as I opine,
> Fit to be measured in a Poet's song:
> What tho' it soundeth low along the line,
> Yet does a hero's fame to it belong.

St. Leger Landon Carter in *The Land of Powhatan* (1821), which he dedicated to "the People of Virginia," frequently referred to this yeoman's son as "Knight" or "Baron." "Sir John" is more euphonious than plain "Captain Smith." In *Pocahontas, Princess of Virginia* (1841) William Watson Waldron went so far as to rechristen both Smith and Rolfe; they appear respectively as Alcanzor and Rodolph. The *Pocahontas* (1840) of Mrs. Mary Webster Mosby, herself a descendant of the Indian princess, is a smooth, pious, and sentimental romance in which in epic fashion the poetess introduces a sibyl who predicts for Pocahontas a happy marriage and a long line of illustrious descendants among the First Families of Virginia. Mrs. Mosby also gives Pocahontas some distinguished ancestors in the Norse Vikings and the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel. James Barron Hope, journalist, orator,

and poet, wrote sonnets on Smith, Pocahontas, and Raleigh; and he praised them again in his ode, "A Poem Recited at the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement at Jamestown." In the last of these poems Hope saw in Captain John Smith:

> An image half of Border chivalry,
> And half presented to our eager eyes,
> The brilliant type of modern enterprise.

Mrs. Margaret Junkin Preston, a Virginian by adoption, wrote one of the best ballads, "The Last Meeting of Pocahontas and the Great Captain," which may have been suggested by a reading of John Esten Cooke's *My Lady Pocahontas* (1885).

In 1847 William Gilmore Simms, the most prolific of Southern writers, published a readable life of Smith. Two years earlier he had published in his own magazine a long article entitled "Pocahontas; A Subject for the Historical Painter." In *Southward Ho!* (1854) he described Smith as "the embodiment of the best characteristics of chivalry." In that book he reprinted from his *The Book of My Lady* (1833) "Pocahontas; A Legend of Virginia," which is not one of Simms's better poems. The rescue scene is romantically described, but the name "Smith" does not appear in the poem. "It is difficult," commented Simms, "to believe in the heroism of a man named Smith."

One of the best of the shorter poems is Thackeray's ballad, "Pocahontas," but the British novelist should have known better than to represent Smith as about to be burned rather than clubbed to death. The poem first appeared in *The Virginians* (1857-1859), which contained a portrait of George Washington too unflattering to please many American readers. In *The Virginians* George Warrington, a Virginia grandson of Henry Esmond, is represented as writing the ballad in order to arouse interest in his forthcoming play on Pocahontas. Thackeray's summary of George Warrington's plot is likely to be read when other dramatic versions of the story have been forgotten:

> An Indian king; a loving princess, and her attendant, in love with the British captain's servant; a traitor in the English fort; a brave Indian warrior, himself entertaining an unhappy passion for Pocahontas; a medicine-man and priest of the Indians . . . capable of every treason, stratagem, and crime . . . these, with the accidents of the wilderness, the war dances and cries . . . and the arrival of the English fleet, with allusions to the late glorious victories in Canada, and the determination of Britons ever to rule and conquer in America. . . .

Virginia's first important historical romancer, Dr. William Alexander Caruthers, wrote no novel dealing with the settlement of Jamestown; but in *The Cavaliers of Virginia* (1835) he included a striking scene which, as the novelist's biographer, Curtis Carroll Davis, has pointed out, was certainly borrowed from the Smith-Pocahontas story. The Chickahominy Indians have captured Nathaniel Bacon, condemned him to death, tied him to the stake, and begun to torture him. "At this moment a piercing scream rent the air, and all tongues were mute, all hands suspended." An "Indian female of exquisite proportions" — she is Wyanokee, daughter of the dead chieftain — rushes to the scene, throws herself "between the half immolated victim and his blood-thirsty tormentors," and cries: "Strike your tomahawks here, into the daughter of your chief, of him who led you on to battles and to victory, but harm not the defenceless stranger." The braves are reluctant to free the prisoner but finally consent when Wyanokee cries: "I will be his wife!" The marriage, however, turns out to be not a real marriage but a legal device to free Bacon.

One of the best of the many fictional treatments of the Smith-Pocahontas story is John Esten Cooke's *My Lady Pokahontas* (1885). This novelette, however, is not Cooke's first but his final treatment of the subject. In "A Dream of the Cavaliers," which appeared in *Harper's Magazine* in January, 1861, he had described Smith and Pocahontas as respectively:

> The founder of Virginia,
> And the pride of the Southern land!

Cooke retold the familiar story in greater detail in *Stories of the Old Dominion* (1879) and again in *Virginia: A History of the People* (1883). In *My Lady Pokahontas* he gives his style somewhat the flavor of a colonial voyager's "true relation" by putting the narrative in the mouth of Anas Todkill, one of the Captain's "Old Soldiers." This device unfortunately necessitates our getting the story of the rescue at second-hand, and it makes of Todkill so persistent a worshiper of Pocahontas that one wonders that it never occurs to My Lady to ask: "Why don't you speak for yourself, Anas?" With one exception Cooke follows closely Smith's own account of events. Since he has chosen to represent Smith and Pocahontas as in love with one another, he has found it necessary to alter the character of Rolfe, who is here the villain who separates the lovers. Cooke's Rolfe is a most unlovable Puritan hypocrite, tormented by scruples about marrying a heathen but nevertheless eagerly spreading the false report that Smith is dead. Pocahontas is the very feminine type of Mrs. Sigourney's poem but much more

lachrymose. There is nothing of the Indian in her character and personality. Even in his history of Virginia, Cooke had written that her "kind heart and brave spirit belong to no clime or race."

The imaginary love scenes are woven into the texture of historical events with great skill. The last meeting of Smith and Pocahontas in London is an excellent example. Merely by putting the following sentence into the mouth of Smith: "The child forgot one who loved her," Cooke has turned the last meeting of two friends into the final parting of two hopeless lovers. The meeting takes place in the Globe Theatre, to which Pocahontas has been invited by the Queen. The play is *The Tempest,* by Captain Smith's good friend, Master William Shakespeare.

> Is yonder truly the Princess Pokahontas? he [Shakespeare] asks. His friend Captain Smith hath told him how she once saved him, and he hath figured her in his *Miranda,* that is, *One to be wondered at;* as see where Miranda cries, "Beseech you, father! Sir, have pity; I'll be his surety!" when *Prospero* would smite down *Ferdinand* as Powhatan would smite Smith. This *Ferdinand* is Smith, he says laughing, though a king's son; and *Caliban* is a deformed Indian, one Rawhunt, whereof Smith hath oft told him; which *Caliban* saith in the play that *Duke Prospero* calleth *Miranda* his "Nonpareil," which is what Captain Smith calleth the Lady Pokahontas.

Cooke has here anticipated the eminent Shakespeare scholar, Sir Sidney Lee, who saw Caliban as in some sort an Indian. In *The Tempest* there are echoes of what Shakespeare had heard or read of the wreck in the Bermudas of the *Sea Venture* while on her way to Virginia; but Shakespeare was, I fear, too much the "little Englander" to wish to celebrate Captain Smith's adventures in Virginia. American writers have always been tempted to bring into their stories of Virginia the glamorous figures of Elizabethan England: Shakespeare, Raleigh, and the great Queen Elizabeth herself.

The Jamestown Tercentenary of 1907 occasioned a number of plays, poems, and novels; but Vaughan Kester's *John o' Jamestown* (1907) is the only one which can be read with pleasure half a century later. It is to be hoped that the 350th Anniversary of the notable event may bring forth something really worthy of the subject.

The most interesting of the later novels is *Pocahontas or The Nonparell* [*sic*] *of Virginia* (1933),[6] by the English novelist, David Garnett, who claims to have read the important historical documents and to have visited the Virginia scenes which he describes. He states in his preface that he has tried both "to draw an accurate historical picture and to make it a work of art." In so doing, he concedes, he has imprisoned his imagination in a

[6] A Spanish version of Garnett's *Pocahontas* appeared in Barcelona in 1943.

"straight-waistcoat" and set it "the narrow, yet impossible, task of calling [his] characters from their graves and making them live, act, feel and think, though not speak, as once they did." Later in the book Garnett notes the writer's great difficulty in effacing from his mind the conventional historical picture so that he may substitute for it something better. In his best-known novel, *Lady into Fox* (1922), Garnett had not hampered his imagination with historical facts.

Pocahontas, whom Garnett tries to portray as a very real Indian woman, is almost the only admirable character in the book. The white settlers are for the most part dirty, unscrupulous, scheming and yet gullible. His conception of the Indian character, which is not unlike that of James Fenimore Cooper, is that: ". . . they knew no half-measures in feeling and behaviour. They could be cruel, treacherous, savage and inhumanly bloodthirsty; but within a few hours of having barbarously slaughtered his [Smith's] companions, they greeted him with song and laughter, with proffered fruits and gay glances."

Captain John Smith is "intensely pugnacious," always sure he is right, "violent in speech and more violent still in deeds." He seems on the point of betraying the settlers when he leaves for England. "I would like a last look at the damned place," he remarks just before his ship sails down the James.

At the time of the rescue Pocahontas is still a child.

> The stone tomahawks wavered for a moment, the throng slackened, but no one spoke or interrupted the child as she cried out with pathetic, tiger-cat defiance: "He is mine: my man. I take him." Then, a little less certainly, she added: "I am old enough. I want him. He can make me beads and copper bells."
>
> Powhatan considered for a moment silently. Pocahontas was very young; it was absurd for her to claim to adopt this prisoner as a right, but he was very fond of her, and it would be difficult to have the man killed without making her furiously angry. The white man would be useful, no doubt, if he were one of the tribe, if he could really be trusted.

After Smith's departure for England Pocahontas is captured and brought to Jamestown. There she develops very rapidly. This is how she impressed two of the ablest of the colonists:

> Gates and Strachey had been used to meeting fine ladies of higher rank in England, and the girl beside them dominated them by her dress and her dignity. She was no savage child whom they had kidnapped in order to blackmail her doting father, but a princess of a royal house whom it was necessary to treat with chivalry and deference.

There is, however, still enough of the Indian in Pocahontas to make it sometimes extremely difficult for her husband, Rolfe, to understand her.

In England, which she has long dreamed of visiting, Pocahontas conducts herself admirably. In London we are introduced to Raleigh, now old and disillusioned, and to Ben Jonson, who is disgustingly drunk. And in London of course she meets Smith again. But this is not the Captain Smith whom Pocahontas had known in Virginia.

> The Smith she had known was dead, and in his place was this fatter, thickened, middle-aged man. The fire had gone out of him, the air of authority had degenerated into a pitiful bluster. When that stopped, he looked quite empty.
>
> At thirty-seven he was a failure. Something had snapped in him, and from being the hero of a hundred legendary exploits he had become an impostor. He knew, and every one else knew, that he was impersonating Captain Smith, the man he had been and was no longer.

When read as fiction, this scene and many others in Garnett's novel are impressive, but I do not believe that the novelist has given us the real Captain John Smith. Nor do I find the real Smith in the vain, uninhibited, and libidinous hero of Edison Marshall's *Great Smith* (1953). Marshall, Garnett, and other writers have relied too exclusively upon the debunking biographers. For my part I prefer the memorable tribute written by one of Smith's comrades-in-arms for *The Generall Historie of Virginia:*

> What shall I say, but thus we lost him, that in all his proceedings made Justice his first guide, and experience his second, even hating basenesse, sloath, pride, and indignitie, more then [than] any dangers . . . that loved action more then words, and hated falshood and covetousness worse then death; whose adventures were our lives, and whose losse our deaths.

IV

In the earlier years of the present century, when the debunking of the traditional American heroes was fashionable, some of the more striking treatments of the Smith-Pocahontas story took the form of burlesque.[7] The Pocahontas of Philip Moeller's *Pokey; or, The Beautiful Legend of the Amorous Indian* (1918) is the antithesis of the traditional modest lady of poetry and fiction. When the play opens, she is seen violently kissing Rolfe, who protests: "You mustn't kiss me to death. There's no such death on record." She threatens to throw him over the cliff unless he instantly promises to marry her. Just in the nick of time Captain John Smith, "of

[7]One of the most extravagant of the burlesques is Boyce Loving's *The Origin of Necking, a Travesty on the Pocahontas-John Smith Episode* (Richmond, 1932).

Virginia," comes to the rescue remarking: "When in danger, I remember the heroes"; and seizing Rolfe in his arms, he leaps over the cliff to safety. In the second scene we are introduced to Pocahontas' mother, a modernist, and to her grandmother, who holds fast by the old traditions. Pocahontas rescues Smith because she wants a husband. When the Captain learns that he is to be spared on condition that he marry her, he exclaims: "No. No. Kill me. Rather a thousand deaths than one anxious female." Fortunately, Rolfe reappears. Smith immediately demands that Rolfe fulfill the promise he had made when Smith rescued him from the like predicament. Rolfe finally agrees to marry Pocahontas, but he cannot help reminding Smith that the price of honor is high. Mrs. Powhatan says to her daughter: "Come here, darling, don't be timid. Marriage is one third imagination and two thirds keeping your eyes shut." Smith concludes: "You know, in a few centuries the whole thing may seem awfully jolly."

In the title poem of *Noah an' Jonah an' Cap'n John Smith* (1921) Don Marquis, a popular columnist and author of light verse, pictured:

> Noah an' Jonah an' Cap'n John Smith,
> Mariners, travelers, magazines of myth,
> Settin' up in Heaven, chewin' an' a-chawin'
> Eatin' their tobaccy, talkin' an' a-jawin'. . . .

In a dubious dialect resembling that of James Whitcomb Riley, they spin tall tales of their exploits as fishermen. Noah brags of the fish he caught while sailing in the Ark; Smith goes him one better when he recounts his adventures while fishing for "the perilousest varmints . . . the bloody octopuses"; but neither fisherman can match the exploits of Jonah, who catches the biggest fish of all, whales. At the end of the contest we leave the yarn-spinners:

> Strummin' golden harps, narreratin' myth!
> Settin' by the shallows forever an' forever,
> Swappin' yarns an' fishin' in a little river!

A third burlesque is Christopher Ward's *The Saga of Cap'n John Smith* (1928). In a manner reminiscent of Gilbert and Sullivan the poet good-naturedly satirizes the English, the Indians, the Boston Irish, and the Turks. Only the second of the three books deals with Smith's adventures in Virginia. When Powhatan is about to have Smith put to death, the cry is heard: "She comes! She comes!" and Pocahontas appears on the scene.

> She was a girl of sweet sixteen,
> The kind in movies often seen.

All golden was her golden hair,
Her cheeks like Georgia peaches,
And on her legs she wore a pair
Of English riding breeches.
A Stetson hat was on her head.
Her eyes were blue as bluing.
Her nose was white, her lips were red,
But needed some renewing.
Her manner, people might be led
To think, was autocratic,
For "Stick 'em up!" was all she said,
And waved an automatic.

When she has procured Smith's release,

She blushed and softly murmured, "Now,
Please introduce him."

Pocahontas demands that Powhatan explain the mystery that surrounds her birth. She displays a handkerchief, which had belonged to her dead mother, embroidered with a lion, a unicorn, and the letter E; and she produces some letters addressed to Powhatan by "Your loving friend and playmate, Lizzie." The chieftain reluctantly explains that he is an English nobleman who had secretly married the youthful Princess Elizabeth but was dismissed when she became Queen of England. Although Pocahontas cannot prove her claim to the British throne, still – now that she is revealed as the daughter of the Earl of Upper Tooting – she cannot marry plain Captain Smith. In a long speech Powhatan proposes an Anglo-American union while Pocahontas goes to sleep and Smith disappears to turn up next in Boston. Unlike other parodists, Ward concludes his book with a handsome "Apologia" to the shade of Captain Smith:

I know you, sir, for what you were,
Intrepid caballero,
A stout and brave adventurer,
A man of men, a hero.
And, though I think for chaff like this
You do not care a tinker's dam, sir,
If, perchance, it seems amiss
I'm sorry, Captain Smith, I am, sir,
And tender to you humbly these,
My most sincere apologies.

In *Young Love* (1936), a book of short stories, John Erskine continued to exploit the vein he had discovered eleven years earlier in *The Private*

Life of Helen of Troy. In the ninth story he treats in flippant fashion the story of John Alden, Miles Standish, and Priscilla Mullins. Pocahontas is the central figure in the story entitled "Variation XIII." In the opening scene, which is by much the most effective, we are introduced to Pocahontas soon after the rescue. Powhatan is sitting in state under an elm, but the princess is standing "not because there wasn't a seat, but because she looked better standing." Powhatan is speaking: "Daughter, it was an error of judgment. You should have let me knock out his brains." He philosophizes: "Men hunt for two things – for food and for women. I gave him corn, but he wasn't satisfied. I then thought it must be women, and tried him out by letting you carry on communications with him, but he wasn't interested." Pocahontas insists that Captain Smith will return and marry her. Powhatan is not convinced: "You claimed him for a husband – and the tribe accepted him. Do you really believe he will forsake his people and remove the hair from his face and become one of us?" After Smith returns to England, she marries Rolfe when she discovers that her own people do not care to have her return to them.

In the period of disillusionment and rebellion that followed the First World War too few of our creative writers had any serious interest in the American past. Some of the younger writers, believing that their own country was dominated by Philistines, fled to London or Paris. Those influential expatriates, Ezra Pound, Gertrude Stein, and T. S. Eliot, saw little vitality in the American literary tradition and found little to interest them in their country's history.

There were notable exceptions of course; and conspicuous among them was Stephen Vincent Benét, whose best-known work is *John Brown's Body*, a romantic epic of the Civil War. At his death in 1943 Benét left unfinished a long poem dealing with the settlement of America and the westward movement across the continent. The completed portion of the poem was posthumously published in 1943 under the title *Western Star*. Benét undertook to commemorate the thousands of nameless pioneers rather than the traditional heroes, but he did introduce a few of the leading figures of Plymouth and Jamestown. He was somewhat kinder to Smith than Garnett and the writers of burlesques.

> This bushy-bearded, high-foreheaded, trusting man
> Who could turn his hand to anything at a pinch,
> Bragging, canny, impatient, durable
> And fallen in love with the country at first sight. . . .
> You can see the difference in Percy,

> Who is always the Englishman among the natives,
> And never sheds his skin or his English ways,
> A good man, an excellent colonial-governor
> But not this skin-changing stepchild of Ulysses,
> On fire, yes, fed or fasting, to see new things,
> Explore, map out, taste, venture, enjoy, astound
> And look, look, look with a fly's remembering eye,
> A child's delight in marvels, a liar's gorgeousness,
> And the patient, accurate pen that mapped two great coasts.

Pocahontas first appears as:

> a wild child-princess, bursting out of the woods,
> Her train of girls behind her, shouting and screaming,
> With deerhorns set on their foreheads – a Bacchant rout,
> Led by the nonpareil, the daring child,
> Who was to die a Christian and a lady
> And leave her slight bones in the English earth
> And her son's sons to know Virginia still,
> Such being the fate.
> And they were to meet again,
> Years later, in England, the lady Rebecca Rolfe
> And Captain Smith – a strange meeting – strange and sad,
> The Indian princess in her fine English clothes
> And the bearded, baldish Ulysses, both nine years older
> And one very soon to die as caged things will
> Just when they seem acclimated to the cage.

The debunking biographers and historians have treated Pocahontas more kindly than Smith, and she has fared better than he at the hands of the twentieth-century poets. Two of them indeed have seen in her a beautiful and fitting symbol of the American spirit. In 1916 Carl Sandburg published "Cool Tombs," which contains the memorable lines:

> Pocahontas' body, lovely as a poplar, sweet as a red haw
> in November or a pawpaw in May, did she wonder? does
> she remember? . . . in the dust, in the cool tombs?

These lines serve as epigraph for Vachel Lindsay's "Our Mother, Pocahontas," which was written in the following year. Lindsay's parents were Southerners, and there was a special tenderness in his feeling for Virginia. He wrote his poem "Virginia" when he was asked to visit a London bank to see a gold model of the *Mayflower*. In 1917, when the United States declared war against Germany, patriotic feeling was intense; and Pocahontas seemed to Lindsay an appropriate symbol of the American spirit. The same

natural forces that made her, he felt, had transformed European immigrants into the new race of Americans. We are the children of Pocahontas, the great American Earth Mother.

> Her skin was rosy copper-red.
> And high she held her beauteous head.
> Her step was like a rustling leaf:
> Her heart a nest, untouched of grief.
> She dreamed of sons like Powhatan,
> And through her blood the lightning ran.
> Love-cries with the birds she sung,
> Birdlike
> In the grapevine swung.
> The Forest, arching low and wide
> Gloried in its Indian bride
> Rolfe, that dim adventurer,
> Had not come a courtier.
> John Rolfe is not our ancestor.
> We rise from out the soul of her
> Held in native wonderland,
> While the sun's rays kissed her hand,
> In the springtime,
> In Virginia,
> Our Mother, Pocahontas.

Pocahontas is no longer merely the guardian angel of the Jamestown colony but the spirit of all America that animates her children in a great war.

> Because gray Europe's rags august
> She tramples in the dust;
> Because we are her fields of corn;
> Because our fires are all reborn
> From her bosom's deathless embers,
> Flaming
> As she remembers
> The springtime
> And Virginia,
> Our Mother, Pocahontas.

Hart Crane, who wrote *The Bridge* (1930), in which Pocahontas again appears as an American symbol, was an admirer of T. S. Eliot, whose *The Waste Land* had created a sensation among intellectuals on its publication in 1922. Crane, however, was irritated by Eliot's Anglophile tendencies, and he thought it inappropriate for an American-born poet to draw his imagery from such esoteric sources as Frazer's *The Golden Bough* and the

legend of the Holy Grail. In treating "the Myth of America" in *The Bridge*, Crane wanted to show, he said, "the continuous and living evidence of the past in the inmost vital substance of the present." In the poem to which he once referred as "an American epic," the dominant symbol is of course the Brooklyn Bridge, but other notable symbols are Columbus, Rip Van Winkle, Walt Whitman, and Pocahontas. The five poems which make up Part II are entitled "Powhatan's Daughter." In interpreting this difficult poem critics have been forced to rely heavily upon the poet's own explanation. In a long letter of September 12, 1927, Crane wrote:

> Powhatan's daughter, or Pocahontas, is the mythological nature-symbol chosen to represent the physical body of the continent, or the soil. She here takes on much the same role as the traditional Hertha of ancient Teutonic mythology. The five sub-sections of Part II are mainly concerned with a gradual exploration of this "body" whose first possessor was the Indian.

Although Crane does not mention "Our Mother, Pocahontas," his indebtedness to Lindsay's poem seems obvious.

In the sub-section entitled "The River" the poet names among the many who have trekked westward the pioneers, the hoboes, and the "Pullman breakfasters." These and many others, says the poet, "have touched her without [knowing] her name."

> From pole to pole across the hills, the states
> – They know a body under the wide rain;
> Youngsters with eyes like fjords, old reprobates
> With racetrack jargon, – dotting immensity
> They lurk across her, knowing her yonder breast
> Snow-silvered, sumac-stained, or smoky blue –
> Is past the valley-sleepers, south or west.
> – As I have trod the rumorous midnights, too,
> And past the circuit of the lamp's thin flame
> (O Nights that brought me to her body bare!)
> Have dreamed beyond the print that bound her name.
> Trains sounding the long blizzards out – I heard
> Wail into distances I knew were hers.

More beautiful perhaps is the sub-section entitled "The Dance," which begins:

> The swift red flesh, a winter king –
> Who squired the glacier woman down the sky?
> She ran the neighing canyons all the spring;
> She spouted arms; she rose with maize – to die.

But I have quoted enough to suggest both the beauty and the difficulty of the poem.

I have not seen *The Founders,* a symphonic drama, which Paul Green has written for the 350th anniversary of the planting of Jamestown; but in one of the essays in his *Dramatic Heritage* (1953) he has suggested the line of treatment which he has adopted. For him the real hero of the colony is not Smith but John Rolfe, who has hitherto always played either an inconspicuous or an unadmirable role in fiction, poetry, and drama. In his essay, "Jamestown – Thoughts for a Symphonic Drama," Mr. Green wrote:

> It is in John Rolfe's philosophy of work that his greatness and true heroism lie, that he becomes the real hero of Jamestown. In him was represented the essential character of the English race. In him was illustrated once more the reason for England's success as a colonizing power in the world. She has been a nation of men who worked.[8]

The vitality of the Smith-Pocahontas story is abundantly proved by the extraordinary number of poems, plays, novels, short stories, and biographical works that deal with it.[9] It is undoubtedly one of our most memorable national legends. And if no poet has yet celebrated it in a poem as familiar as *The Courtship of Miles Standish* or *The Song of Hiawatha,* still it has inspired two or three poems of as high a poetic quality. Unfortunately, "Our Mother Pocahontas" and *The Bridge,* especially the last, involve difficulties that baffle the ordinary reader; and only a minority of Americans have yet seen the Indian princess as a beautiful and appropriate American symbol. But the end is not yet; there will surely be many more poems, novels, and plays retelling the fascinating story of Captain John Smith and the Princess Pocahontas and the beginnings of the Jamestown colony.

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[8]In another essay in the same volume Paul Green expressed his belief that our writers should follow the example of the Greeks and "dramatize and redramatize our heroes – the pioneer figures, the explorers, the statesmen, the builders. . . . For as we work to make them live again, so much more will they and their best virtues live in the lives of our children and the generations of the future – generations who in turn can reinterpret and redramatize them for their children."

[9]Many of these are listed in my *Virginia Life in Fiction,* abstract of a Columbia University dissertation privately printed in Dallas, Texas, in 1922. Some of the later titles appear in two master's theses to which I am somewhat indebted: Loy Y. Bryant's "The Pocahontas Theme in American Literature" (University of North Carolina, 1935) and Grace Engel's "Pocahontas in American Literature" (Columbia University, 1937). See also Albert Keiser, *The Indian in American Literature* (1933), chap. i, "The Pocahontas Legend"; Ernest J. Streubel, "The Pocahontas Story in Early American Drama," *Colonnade,* September, 1915; and Marshall W. Fishwick, *American Heroes: Myth and Reality* (1954), chap. 3, "O Brave New World: John Smith," first published in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* LVIII, 40-57 (January 1950), under the title "Virginians on Olympus. I. The Last Great Knight Errant."

BIOGRAPHER'S NOTEBOOK

by BRADFORD SMITH*

"WHAT brings you to England?"

"Captain John Smith."

An embarrassed laugh. "You mean he was the ship's captain?"

"No, he settled Jamestown."

"Jamestown?"

"In Virginia. It was the first permanent English settlement in America."

"Oh, was it? I'm frightfully ignorant of American history, I'm afraid."

"It wasn't American history then," you think of saying, but don't. Everyone in England is so friendly, so helpful that you don't want to seem to be critical. After all, Virginia was but an incident in the great sweep of English history. By the side of Drake, Raleigh, Cabot, Gilbert, and Popham, Smith looks diminutive. Except that from our point of view he was instrumental in planting a colony that proved permanent (setting aside the few hours when Gates abandoned it in 1610), which none of these others ever did.

The British Museum is damp and cold on a wet April day. The windows of the reading room are open to let a little of the cold out, but it has to creep and wind around our feet on its way. The ancient gentleman readers have their beards to keep them warm. But it is hard to see how the ageless lady with a curious uniform which stops above her knees can be comfortable. Her knees are purple red. She sniffles. But at least she cuts off some of the draft with the high piles of books in front of her. She has been coming every day to the reading room as long as anyone remembers. She stays all day. She has read mountains of books, but nobody knows what for. She is dangerous only to one who innocently takes her place at the table near the window.

There is plenty of time to look at the readers because it may take an hour and a half, or more, for the books you have asked for to reach the desk. They don't like to have you return the books one at a time as you finish with them. Keep them till the end of the day. There wouldn't be time for them to get back to the shelves and be used by another reader anyhow.

The lack of a card catalogue is not so bad if you're looking for old books.

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*Mr. Smith is author of *Captain John Smith, His Life and Legend* (Philadelphia, 1953) and *Yankees in Paradise* (Philadelphia, 1956).

The great bound volumes with their pasted-in slips are fairly handy, though you learn that you must hunt about some since later books have to be pasted in wherever space allows. But since it takes about nine months for a book to get into the catalogue after it has gotten into the library, you have to resort to other devices to track down the recent ones. This is very good training, as it prepares you to tackle the maze which confronts you when you graduate to the Department of Manuscripts and begin to hunt for original and unpublished material.

The indexes to the manuscripts are ingeniously designed. There is an index of indexes. There are catalogues of single private letters, collected private letters, account books. There are catalogues covering the collections acquired by the Museum regardless of content. There is a whole library of catalogues to become familiar with before you can get at a manuscript.

We're looking, let's say, for information about Peregrine Bertie, second son of a man by the same name who was also Lord Willoughby. The reason we're looking for him is that John Smith went with him to France as a young man – we think.

We spot something that looks hopeful. We make out a slip with the cryptic symbols that identify the manuscript. In a very few minutes a large bound book comes back to us. The attendants in the Manuscript Room are quick and efficient. We put the book on a rack. Bound into it are a hundred manuscripts of varying hands and sizes, all three hundred years old or more. It's quite exciting.

We turn the sheets carefully for fear of tearing them. But after three hundred years this paper is in better shape than last week's newspaper. Ah – here it is, the piece we were looking for. It's hard to believe that we have really tracked it down through the jungle of indexes and catalogues.

But what's this? Something is between us and the quarry – a handwriting that bears little resemblance to the Palmer method we learned at school or anything we've seen since.

Now we learn the function of the dignitary sitting at a raised desk in the corner. He knows how to read this stuff.

But we can't keep bothering him. We learn some of his tricks. We blunder along until we begin to know that what looks like a d is really an e, that an apparent r is a c, a v an r, and so on. It's like Double-crostics, only more so.

The letter, once we've pinned it down, is interesting. Peregrine is in jail and is writing to a friend to help get him out.

Quite fascinating, really. Only it turns out to be the wrong Peregrine.

In front of the vast, wonderful bulk of Lincoln Cathedral stands the Exchequer Gate, a medieval remnant through which traffic to the cathedral must pass. In the thick-walled rooms over the gate are the Lincoln archives. The priestesses who preside over them are incredibly quick and full of incredible knowledge. We explain to the Archivist, Mrs. Varley, that we are looking for traces of John Smith, who was born in the little village of Willoughby in Lincolnshire, or his father George.

In no time at all Miss Williamson, her assistant, has thumbed through a cardboard box full of long parchments and pulled out an inventory of the household and estate of George Smith, John's father. No one has ever found it before, no one has ever connected it with Captain John. So easily, after weeks of hunting, comes a really useful discovery.

The small, quill-formed handwriting is no handicap now. But there are words whose meaning has dropped into the soft lap of the past: gallowtre, recond, scomer, branderith. Sadle, coberde and arke are easy – they mean simply settle, cupboard and chest.

Best of all, we know now what was in every room of the house where John grew up. And we have a hint about his character and what formed it in the discovery that his mother married almost immediately after his father's death.

John Smith had never admitted that. He said she died when he was a boy.

The road into Willoughby, the village where Smith was born, crosses a railroad track. Here there is so little traffic that the gates stay athwart the road until someone wants to cross. And when they open, they do not go uselessly into the air as ours do, but neatly close off the tracks on both sides. It is an unexpected courtesy. It puts our Morris Minor on an equal plane with the Great Northern Railway.

Near the Willoughby church, where John was baptized and his father was buried, is a brick house with packages of Corn Flakes and other groceries in a window. Willoughby seems to be mostly built of brick, at least most of what you see from the road leading in from Alford. There is the creamery, the station, the Railway Arms run by a retired naval commander, a row of houses and the church. That is Willoughby.

The house with the groceries belongs to Robert Thorndike. He is an elderly nicely spoken man with fine pink English skin and a white moustache, and he has lived most of his life in Willoughby. Yes, he knows about John Smith, and he can take us to the house which has always been known

as Smith's. We can walk there. It is only a little distance beyond the church.

It too is brick. It has been through alterations and perhaps its roof has been renewed. But the big central chimney, the stone lintels over the door and windows – these are unchanged. Moreover, the house is of a size to match the inventory of George Smith's hall (the main room in those days), parlor, larder, and two chambers.

At Alford in a room over the church porch John Smith first went to school. Later on he went to a bigger school in Louth. It was quite a distance from home and he must have boarded somewhere. The King Edward Grammar School still is there, though in different buildings now – higher up, with a beautiful view of one of the finest spires in England. The headmaster was kind enough to invite me to lunch. Everyone around me finished while I was picking up my napkin. I remember making some remark about thinking it was Americans who had a reputation for speed. That was when the dessert was disposed of. They were all very neat looking youngsters, and they must have had something important to get to. There was no evidence of chronic indigestion.

Still chewing, I walked with the headmaster up to the classrooms. In a large room which did double duty as auditorium and lecture hall classes were already meeting. But we went in anyway, to see the mural of Smith being saved by Pocahontas. Here, at least, they were raising young Englishmen who would know about John Smith.

The head which Pocahontas had saved also rested on a shelf. It appeared to be of plaster with a bronzed finish. It had been done by Baden-Powell, I was informed, the famous founder of the Boy Scouts. It seems that Baden-Powell's name was Smith too, and that he claimed descent from Captain John.

Since John Smith never married and presumably never had children, I was puzzled about that. I still am.

Much of Lincolnshire is flat fen country, but some of it rolls gently. At the top of one of these rolls stands, or rather stretches, the great length of Grimsthorpe, seat of the Willoughbys under whom John Smith was a tenant. We could see the house from the road below. It was quite distant, and we drove on to see whether there might be some nearer point from which we could get a snapshot of it.

The road obligingly curved around, went up a hill, and then clearly divided so that we knew we should keep to the left.

We ended up in front of a closed gate. A man was painting it green. The view of the house was disappointing from here. About all we could see was stable and blank wall. But we walked to the gate.

"Do you suppose we could just step inside and take a picture?" we said.

"There's more to be seen from the front. You can go down to the house and ask them if you like."

The house looked unapproachable. It was too big, too baronial. For the first time I felt embarrassed for our little Morris Minor. It was definitely outclassed. We walked interminably along a blank wall surrounding a vast courtyard. We came to a door with a bell pull. Feeling like children who had gotten into something they dared not back out of, we rang.

The housekeeper came.

"We've come a long way to see Grimsthorpe," we said. "Do you suppose it would be all right if we took a picture?"

"Just a moment, please," she said in that wonderful clear and lilting tone whose enchanting music is a tangible part of England's charm. "His Lordship's in the house. If you'll wait a moment I'll enquire." (Not inquire.)

We waited, looking up at the big stump of a square stone tower which formed one end of the "house." Fifteenth century, it looked. Maybe earlier. We wondered what Lord Ancaster, successor to the Willoughby title, would be like. We knew that he had been Lord Chamberlain of England, which bred awe in us. We knew that his mother was American and his wife the daughter of an American who had become Lady Astor.

Lord Ancaster was youngish, good-looking, disarmingly friendly. He apologized for keeping us waiting, which he hadn't. He explained that he had to meet his mother in twenty minutes but would be very happy to take us around to the front. He led us out onto the beautiful stretch of lawn where for the first time we really saw Grimsthorpe.

Grimsthorpe must have grown by stages. Two square, castellated towers stand at its two ends, and between them are seven gables and eight chimneys, most of them double. It is huge, asymmetrical, and charming. Somehow it manages to hide its size even while you are conscious of it, and to seem informal and intimate.

"Would you like to go in?" his Lordship asked us. "We haven't been living here, and I'm afraid it's rather a mess."

We went in. A gallery ran the whole length of the building just inside. There were paintings here of the Willoughbys we had been curious about.

We saw state bedrooms, ballrooms, great halls, a chapel. There was a bed the canopy of which had come from a king's throne. The chamberlain, Lord Ancaster explained, used to have the privilege of taking such belongings at the death of a king. We asked him what he had got, but he said it seemed as if the custom had died out.

He had ceased being chamberlain at the death of King George, he explained. "They had some sort of a do over it quite a while ago," he said. "Two sisters claimed the right for their heirs. So now we split it up. The other side gets it during the new Queen's reign."

We reminded him that we didn't want to keep him from his appointment. But Grimsthorpe had many rooms. He must have known when he took us in how much of his time he would be giving us. Like all gracious hosts, he actually seemed to be enjoying it.

We wondered about John Smith, the first time he had seen Grimsthorpe as a young man. Had the great Lord Willoughby shown him around? It seemed hardly likely.

Yet if it hadn't been for John Smith, son of the "poor tenant" who left his best two year old colt to Lord Willoughby, we would never have heard of Grimsthorpe or Lord Ancaster.

It seems to balance out.

"Trafalgar Square," the bus driver sang out. "*And* St. Martin's. *And* the National Gallery." Then, with a softer music, "*And* the fountain. *And* the pigeons."

And the Marxists. They were out in force that day, holding some sort of a mass rally under the great shaft commemorating Nelson's victory at Trafalgar, shouting their wooden arguments, their ready-made accusations and their pet solutions.

It was not for the pigeons or the politicians that we had come, but to walk down Whitehall where Pocahontas once had been received when there was a royal palace there, and to see Westminster Abbey with Saint Margaret's at its transept like a lion cub crouching beside its mother. These had changed hardly at all in three hundred and fifty years. In Westminster, in one of the chapels, was the vast monument to the Duke of Richmond and Lennox and his wife, Smith's benefactor. Here Smith once stood. It helps you to feel history if you can get your feet on a known spot. But who can bring the whole pageant of Westminster into his mind – the kings and queens who have come here to be crowned, the knights just returning from the crusades, the scented and ribboned courtiers, the great whose bones lie

within the walls? It calls for too much effort. The clutter of monuments, plaques, statues, crowds out thought. You have to look at these material things. And looking at them you lose hold of the pageant of the long past.

One thing at a time, then. John Smith stood here before these stonestiff effigies. He stood here straight and sturdy and probably with his legs thrust apart.

Then he went away and he too became dust. And now we stand here.

There is another tangible evidence of John Smith in Chancery Lane, in the old city. One of Smith's books was published in Chancery Lane, but Robert Clerke's house, called the Lodge, has long since disappeared. In the Public Record Office, that precious repository of ancient documents, there is a letter bearing the signature of John Smith, begging to be made Bacon's servant. There is only one other holograph in the world, and it is in California.

The American Embassy has made arrangements for us to work in the P. R. O. Its round reading room, with the light coming down from the dome overhead, fills rapidly when the doors open at ten o'clock. Great volumes of manuscript bigger than family Bibles, rolls of narrow parchment yards long are soon spread on the racks and tables. There are many things we want to look for here, but the Smith letter to Bacon comes first.

Most of the letter is in a scrivener's hand. But the tight, firm signature Jo Smith is his. Better still, for this is unexpected, is a page of place names in Smith's own hand.

We are not so fortunate in the other things we seek here – a list of persons authorized to travel overseas, news of the masque Pocahontas attended, information about Smith's friend Thomas Packer (or Parker) who was a clerk of the Privy Seal. The travel authorizations are missing for just the years we want. The accounts of the Master of the Revels say nothing about *Christmas his Masque*. Not a trace can we find of Thomas Packer or Parker. As always, the officers are helpful, knowledgeable, and wonderfully patient. But fire and negligence have eaten great mouthfuls of the past. The larger part of research is a search for what in the end is not to be found. In the scholar's world as in the market, only that which is scarce is precious.

So we were not surprised, in Oxford a few days later, to fail in what was to us an interesting search. When John Smith died, he left part of his books to John Tradescant. (Shakespeare left no books at all in his will.)

We knew that Tradescant's things had eventually gone to Oxford, and we inquired at the Bodleian whether his books might possibly be located.

In an American library they would long since have been dispersed to separate shelves according to their subject matter. But in England books are shelved as they come in. After three hundred years of being moved about, Tradescant's books still had their own neighborhood.

One of the principal librarians himself took us across the street to the new building and down into the stacks. He led us to Tradescant's library.

There were several thousand volumes, and we could not keep an important officer from his desk all day.

Three of us began to pull books out of the shelves. We picked titles which seemed appropriate to Smith's interests. We tried random picking. We tried to guess from the size and condition of a volume whether it might have traveled about in a trunk as Smith's books did.

We found Tradescant's signature several times, but Smith's never.

There may be one there for some other searcher to find. There may be several. As valuable as the signature would be the knowledge of what books Smith treasured.

In another part of Oxford University we had more luck. This was at the Ashmolean Museum where Tradescant's other things were kept.

Tradescant was a famous museum owner of Smith's day, and one of the things he owned was an Indian robe listed in his own catalogue as that given to Captain Christopher Newport by Powhatan.

Several months previously I had written to inquire about it. Yes, it was still in the museum.

So we went to see it and found it hanging in a huge glass case over a stairway — deerskin with crudely worked patterns in shell of a man and two deer. We talked with one of the museum officials about it.

"It hasn't been up very long, you know," he said. "Used to be in storage somewhere."

We wondered whether our inquiry had brought it out.

It was a rainy Sunday, but we decided to go to Brentford anyway. Weekdays we worked in the libraries, so Sunday gave us our only opportunity to visit the town where Smith said Pocahontas had stayed during her English visit.

Guided by the excellent train and bus maps for the London area, we took the subway at Piccadilly, got off at Northfields, and then caught the bus for Brentford.

The maps could take us to Brentford, but not to Pocahontas. We stood in the street where the bus dropped us, wondering what to do next.

"Could I help you?"

This was always happening to us in England, this friendliness, this willingness to be helpful. The American stereotype of the Englishman as reserved and humorless is perhaps no more ridiculous than any other stereotype, but we were reminded every day of its being not only wrong but upside down.

We explained to the helpful gentleman that we were looking for old Brentford. It seemed too silly to say that we were looking for an Indian princess.

He told us where the old part of town was, we went there, it began to pour, and we ran for a bus. Perhaps we could go on to Hampton Court and come back to Brentford later. At Hampton we could at least be indoors.

But the bus we caught did not go to Hampton. The conductor showed us where to get off and what bus to take.

As we stepped off, it began to pour again. In spite of raincoats we were already drenched.

Across the street was a brick wall and gate, an inviting path, and a sign which said, "Religious Society of Friends. Meetings, First Day, 11 a.m." It was now five minutes to eleven. It was with a little feeling of guilt that we had come down to Brentford instead of going to meeting in London. With a meeting set so invitingly in our path – and the rain driving us – there was now no question of choice. We went in.

It was an old meeting house, built about the time the American colonies won their independence. It was small, with big windows built high so that you could see only branches and the sky through them. The benches all faced the center, where a bouquet stood on a plain table. Outside the rain poured down, and from the end of the long garden came the muffled sounds of occasional traffic. Inside was the familiar, enveloping quiet of the silent meeting. Between the long stretches of fruitful silence were brief talks and meditations of which memory can restore now only one memorable phrase: "To him that has striven, even defeat is a victory." It seemed a good motto for John Smith.

Meanwhile a drama was taking place in the sky. The leaden downpour slackened to a drizzle. The last drops fell. The low layer of gray cloud scudded by, then thinned, frayed into bits of veil, dissolved. The high, clean, cotton-white clouds were revealed. Then they too broke and scattered and a bright, luminous blue sky appeared, looking as if it had been washed

and scrubbed. The sun threw bars of light into the room for the dust motes to climb on. From the garden came the implausible woodwind of the cuckoo sounding his minor third.

After meeting came an invitation to lunch so warm that we could not refuse. But first we walked across the road to Isleworth and into Sion Park, a property of the Northumberland family. Pocahontas, we felt sure, had stayed nearby in a house of the Bishop of London.

After lunch, served with a gay efficiency and with generous disregard of rationing, we all drove down to Hampton Court – the solicitor and his wife and lovely little three year old daughter and the two of us. The vast Tudor palace, built by Wolsey and prudently given to Henry VIII when that monarch cast a desirous eye on it, was a favorite residence in Smith's day and must have been visited by Pocahontas from nearby Brentford.

It was very impressive. But the solicitor's daughter and I rather preferred the maze in a corner of its vast garden.

Lambeth Palace, London residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, lies across the Thames a little way upriver from the House of Parliament. Most of the Smith associations with the Lambeth area – the Tradescant Museum, the house where he had left his trunk full of books – have long since disappeared. But in the Lambeth Palace Library was said to be a life of Smith in Latin.

Dr. Churchill, the librarian, received me with gracious charm. She apologized for the disorganized condition of the library which, she explained with wonderful British feeling for understatement, had been inconvenienced by the German bombing. A corner of the beautiful great hall had been torn away. The books had had to be moved. They were not yet back in place.

A Latin life of Smith? She was very sorry, but the printed catalogue failed to reveal one.

But I had seen a mention somewhere of such a life, by Henry Wharton.

By Henry Wharton? Why, Henry Wharton had been Librarian at Lambeth. Strange the catalogue doesn't list it. But perhaps – yes, the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* mentions it. Johannis Fabricius – John Smith in Latin! Back to the catalogue. And here it was! Under Fabricius the manuscript had slept in the catalogue these many years. Dr. Churchill made a new entry for it under Smith. Then she brought me the manuscript.

Thanks to the miracle of microfilm, I did not have to struggle with it

then and there. A good thing, since its Latin proved difficult even for experts.

The Guildhall is in the heart of old London, near Cheapside and the Bank of England. It is too crowded to make much of an appearance from outside, but its great banqueting hall and its library, though dingy with age, are impressive in their proportion and their beautiful woodwork. Here we began to hunt for Smith's connection with the liveried companies – the fishmongers and cordwayners and bakers to whom he appealed, though never with any success, to outfit him for a settlement in America.

At any rate he says he appealed to them. But did he? No one ever seems to have checked the records. The Guildhall library has a good many of the old company records, we find. It is just a matter of digging through them.

But for the goldsmiths' records we have to go to the Goldsmiths' Hall – a relatively modern building, big, heavily impressive as it should be. The library is a long, well-lighted room beautifully furnished. The record books of the goldsmiths are intact and they are richly bound and perfectly preserved. The hand is not too difficult to decipher. Yes, here is the man we are looking for – the Master Reynoldes, assay master of Goldsmiths' Hall, who is mentioned in Smith's will. He seems to have kicked up quite a dust (gold, no doubt) among the worshipful officers of the company – a dust which was not to settle for several years. But why did Smith leave him forty shillings (say a hundred fifty dollars) in his will? The records are no help to us here.

At Somerset House off the Strand is the vast repository of wills containing those of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury where Smith's was entered in 1631. John Smith's will has long been known, so we do not need to see that. But my wife has discovered that the will was contested – a fact never brought to light before.

So we go to Somerset House, stand in line to pay the modest fee, and are led down into the depths where from floor to ceiling the rooms are full of huge parchment volumes.

Balancing on the top of a rough stepladder the huge volume that is brought to us, we have a quick look at the complaint of Anne Smith alias Oseney. Both the hand and the Latin are difficult. But they can be tackled later by means of a photostat. The main thing is that we have the document.

Only we are itching to know: who was Anne Smith, and what grounds did she have for contesting the will?

The end of the trail for an investigator as for John Smith is Saint Sepulchre's Church, Holborn. Somewhere under its stone floor he lies buried. The original tablet of memorial verse has disappeared, but has been replaced with one in brass.

Our first visit to Saint Sepulchre's was at early communion on Sunday morning. Once the parish church for a busy suburb just outside the city wall, Saint Sepulchre's is now in the midst of a business area which is wholly abandoned on Sundays. Even Holborn Viaduct Station across the road, a humming place on weekdays, has a sepulchral air. So there is only a handful at the service and we are invited with the others into the vestry for a breakfast of good English bread, tea and marmalade.

The Reverend G. H. Salter, vicar of the church, gives us a friendly welcome. Then David Johnson, eleven-year-old son of the clerk, takes us in charge. He is one of the few people we have met who knows about John Smith. With him we tour the neighborhood in which Smith spent his last years – the Old Bailey, Saint Bartholomew's hospital and the wonderfully interesting, half ruined old church of the same name behind it, the abandoned markets, Saint Paul's, Stationers' Hall. David knows his way about.

"Do you know where Snow Hill is?" we ask him. John Smith was in Sir Samuel Saltonstall's house when he died, and Sir Samuel is thought to have lived on Snow Hill.

He knew. It was right in front of the church. We walked down it and back up again. Nothing but modern buildings are there now; only a plaque in the wall of the police station marks where the once famous inn, the Saracen's Head, stood.

We went back to the church, trying to imagine how Smith's casket must have been borne up the hill and in at the church door.

"We had plans for a window to Captain Smith," Mr. Salter told us. "Friends in America were interested. Then the Depression came, and that was the end of it." He showed me a colored drawing of the window they had planned. Queen Elizabeth would stand in the middle panel, with John at her right hand and Sir Roger Ascham (who also had a connection with the church) at her left.

"There are a million and a half Smiths in the United States," I told him. "Maybe they could do something. How much do you think it would cost?"

"Six thousand dollars," he said.

It seemed a reasonable sum to spend on the man who had kept Jamestown alive and lured the Pilgrims to New England.

THE TUFTON MANUSCRIPTS AND THE VIRGINIA CONNECTION

Edited by FELIX HULL*

THE documents appended to this introduction are offered primarily because they form an additional group of early Virginia Company papers. As they are mainly financial in character it is improbable that they add much to what is already known of the Company and colony under the Sandys administration. Nevertheless they raise certain problems of some interest, not least the reason for their apparently arbitrary survival, and it is necessary to offer an hypothesis which would explain this fact.

I

This group of documents was found among the muniments of the Tufton family of Hothfield, Kent, when they were deposited in the Kent Archives Office by the Honorable P. J. S. Tufton in 1954, not long after the demolition of Hothfield Place, home of the family for many years.[1] The family itself was established by the twelfth century in the hamlets of Toketun (Tufton) in Rainham near Gillingham, Kent, and in Northiam, Sussex, near the Kentish border. It was not until the middle years of the sixteenth century that Hothfield was purchased[2] and from that time the Tuftons assumed an increasingly important role among the gentry of Kent.[3]

John Tufton, son of the purchaser of Hothfield and his wife Mary, daughter of Sir John Baker of Sissinghurst, entertained Queen Elizabeth at Hothfield in 1573, and the same John was knighted in 1603 and created a baronet in 1611.[4] His eldest son was Sir Nicholas, the central figure of this article, who married Frances, daughter of Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter, and was created Baron Tufton of Tufton in 1626 and Earl of Thanet in 1628. The subsequent history of the family was greatly influenced by the marriage of the 2nd Earl of Thanet to the heiress of the

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[1]The whole collection is catalogued and bears the reference mark, K.A.O., U455.

[2]Edward Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent* (Canterbury, 1778-1799, III, 252), records that the purchase of Hothfield was at the end of the reign of Henry VIII, but the title deeds show that the purchase did not take place until 1550 (U455 T44).

[3]John Tufton was sheriff in 1575 and Sir Nicholas was chosen knight of the shire for the last of James I's parliaments, an honour he shared with Sir Edwin Sandys. Hasted, *History of Kent*, I, cxi, III, 252.

[4]Hasted, *History of Kent*, III, 252-253.

Cliffords. In this way great estates and wealth fell to the later Earls from the Clifford inheritance in the north and increasingly Appleby Castle, Westmorland, became the main seat of the family.[5]

This fact appears to have had a peculiar effect upon the family archives, for while muniments of title were preserved at Hothfield, nearly all family papers went to Appleby and hardly any documents of a non-territorial or estate character were received in the Archives Office from Mr. Tufton. This fact does not indicate any lack of interest, however. The Kent series of deeds is remarkably fine from *c.* 1200 and these, as also all other early papers surviving, are carefully endorsed with press marks in a hand dating from about 1700.

There is in fact ample evidence that the Earls of Thanet took great care of their muniments and that anything regarded as of the least significance was retained. Probably it was Thomas, 6th Earl of Thanet (*d.* 1729), who took such great pains over the listing and storage of his papers.[6] The significance of this fact for present purposes is that it throws into relief the few early documents other than deeds and suggests that original bundles surviving from the 6th Earl's time are probably as complete as they then were. Moreover a schedule of the archives compiled in 1916-1917 indicates that no Virginia papers have been lost subsequently and that there are apparently none at Appleby.[7]

These papers fall into three distinct categories:

A. Twelve original documents comprising: (i) the original assignment of shares in 1618, from the Earl of Exeter to Sir Nicholas Tufton, certified by Sandys among others; (ii) a series of seven receipts for additional money paid by Tufton towards adventures, 1618-1620; (iii) similar receipts to Anthony Irby, esq., 1613, 1618, with certificates of assignment to Tufton; (iv) two notes of monies paid by Tufton to the Company.

B. A transcript of all these papers but with a few additions, including a note about Captain Epps as Tufton's agent, all in the same hand as endorsements on the series "A." This, presumably the hand of a steward, is exceedingly neat and distinctive and has a number of conceits which make it unmistakeable, but it is difficult to date. The volume was probably compiled during the Restoration period, though the writing could be earlier.

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[5]Lord Hothfield, the present head of the Tufton family, still resides at Appleby.

[6]Among the records is a bundle endorsed: "Within are inclosed all the Letters from Carleton which my Lord read over in August, 1726, and found necessary to keep."

[7]Prepared for Lord Hothfield by Dr. C. D. Williamson and Miss D. O. Shilton (Mrs. R. Holworthy).

C. "Quaeries regarding Virginia" and "opinion of Governor Digges," 1667, in different hands.[8]

From this brief analysis it will be seen that while the original documents themselves are not of outstanding significance the group as a whole presents a number of problems, not least those of its relative completeness, the reason for its survival and the reason for the later papers and copies.

II

In 1602 Nicholas Tufton married Frances, daughter of Thomas Cecil, Lord Burghley, Earl of Exeter. Exeter became one of the early adventurers in the Virginia Company but seems to have fallen into debt.[9] In 1616 there were supplementary postnuptial settlements to which the Earl was a party, but apparently these only concerned the English estate of the Tuftons.[10] For whatever reason two years later the Earl assigned his shares in the Company to his son-in-law, and it would appear that Tufton also accepted his debts so far as Virginia was concerned. Thus Sir Nicholas first became associated with the Company on June 10, 1618, at the time when Sir Edwin Sandys and his friends were assuming control. That Tufton already knew Sandys is highly probable, and it may be that with the new treasurer's determination to pursue more vigorous policies the Earl of Exeter was ready enough to hand his interest to a younger man, infected with the zeal of Sandys.

For at least two years Tufton entered fully into the affairs of the Company. During that time he contributed at least £494 and in addition bought out the interests of Anthony Irby.[11] He quickly appears to have become a useful member of the Council of the Company and in this capacity was appointed to serve on the committees for the Summer Isles and for John Berkeley's Iron Works, as well as that which was to "draw an humble answer" to the King in 1620, for his having been misinformed as to the management of affairs.[12] That Sandys thought highly of Tufton and regarded him as a valuable colleague seems to be indicated by his reference to him in a letter to John Ferrar dated August 16, 1619: "I came by Sir

[8]The whole was placed subsequently in a cover prepared from an unwanted deed and endorsed "Papers relating to a plantation in Virginia" in the hand of the steward of the 6th Earl.

[9]Document A4 refers to a debt of £80, paid by Tufton for the Earl to the Company.

[10]K.A.O., U455 T280.

[11]See *post* A11, 12. The practice of buying up old shares was complained of by Rich during the Royal investigation of 1623. See Wesley Frank Craven, *The Dissolution of the Virginia Company* (New York, 1932), p. 275.

[12]Susan Myra Kingsbury, ed., *The Records of the Virginia Company of London* (Washington, 1906-1935), I, 357, 375, 472.

Nicholas Tufton and brought along with me seven good men, which Sir Nicholas had very carefully provided for us."[13]

Moreover Tufton's agent in Virginia was William Epps, born near Ashford, a "mad ranting fellow," who nevertheless was regarded by Governor Sir George Yeardley as "a hopefull young gentellman" and was appointed by him to be Captain of Smith's Hundred.[14]

Despite this obvious interest in Sandys' schemes and place of trust in the affairs of the Company, Tufton's direct concern with Virginia was short lived. His last adventuring of money was on January 18, 1620/21, and when in May 1623 a list of adventurers was presented to the House of Commons, Sir Nicholas Tufton's name appears among those who "have not had nor followed the buissiness for sundry yeares."[15] Nevertheless as late as November of that year Sandys and Ferrar were paying bonds to Sir Nicholas presumably at the winding up of the Company's affairs.[16]

The significance of this loss of interest in the affairs of the colony for present purposes is that probably the surviving papers are complete. It is more difficult to assess why Tufton lost interest in this manner though one may suggest that continued financial demands with little return may have made him sceptical of remaining a supporter of the Company, and the massacre of 1622 with the consequent abandonment of Smith's Hundred would only have served to increase his doubts.[17]

Loss of interest in Virginia affairs did not affect Epps who, with his wife and sister-in-law, survived the massacre and subsequent difficulties and who

[13]Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company*, III, 191.

[14]The Epps or Epes family was well known in east Kent and was particularly associated with the town of Lydd where some members held the office of jurat. William, himself, was the son of John Epps a jurat of Lydd and later of Ashford whose Will (K.A.O., P.R.C. 17/67/340) was proved in 1627. In this document a clause relating to the sale of his tenement after his widow's death, left the remainder to his sons John, William, Francis, Peter, and Edward "or to soe many of them as shall be then livinge and within this realm of England."

Epps was perhaps typical of the younger and wilder element interested in colonial development. Almost on arrival he killed a certain Captain Stalling in a drunken brawl, but he survived the charge of murder and Governor Yeardley wrote: "I am sorry for Capt. Epps in Regard he is a proper young man, and Recommended to me by Sir Nicholas Tufton for whose sake I desired to do him all the furtherance I could."

Two of William Epps' brothers, Francis and Peter, were also in Virginia but the latter was sent home in 1624 for popery. William on the other hand remained in the colony until at least 1633, but although holding office as Captain of Smith's Hundred and later as commander of the plantation of Accomack, he seems to have been frequently involved in legal matters not always reflecting credit on himself. By 1633 he was also associated with the island of St. Christopher but had probably returned to his birthplace in Kent by about 1640.

[15]Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company*, IV, 157.

[16]Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company*, IV, 405-407.

[17]If the figures of financial committments are correct Tufton sank possibly as much as £20,000 in modern terms in the Company for no return, not even his estate could stand a drain of this magnitude.

was still holding office in 1623.[18] It seems likely that he later returned to England with his wife but of this there is no definite evidence, nor do we know for certain when he died.[19] From the Tufton Manuscripts, however, it is clear that by the middle part of the century the widow of William Epps was married to a prebend of Winchester. The date of William Epps' death and of his wife's remarriage is of some significance for the copies made of these Virginia papers cannot be earlier than these events. While the evidence is far from conclusive there is the significant fact that Henry Bradshaw, D.D., prebendary of Winchester from 1660 and rector of Chawton in Hampshire, married a wife Margaret, who died January 19, 1673.[20] It is more than a little tempting to relate this lady to the Margaret Epps of Ashford who was left a widow in 1643 and to see in her first husband the "mad ranting fellow" of twenty years earlier. In any event it is now clear that the copies of the Tufton Virginia papers could not have been made earlier than 1660 and that for some reason these papers were carefully copied forty years after their immediate significance had ceased.

The only document among the copies and later papers bearing a date later than 1620, is a note of the opinion of Edward Digges, former Governor of Virginia, made in 1667 to the third Earl, that to the best of his knowledge there was nothing to bar any claim made by the Earl to his grandfather's lands. That such a claim was contemplated appears evident from the list of questions to be asked regarding the former Virginia property and the notes about William Epps.

The difficulties underlying this problem are resolved by the supposition that the third Earl, or perhaps in the first place, his father who died in 1664, had felt obliged to resuscitate Virginia claims as a means of reviving the family fortunes. John, 2nd Earl of Thanet, was a staunch royalist and following the seizure of control in Kent by Parliamentary forces in 1642, he suffered repeatedly as a delinquent. His estates sequestrated, he was fined no less than £9,000 according to the list of 1654, the largest sum of any Kentish gentleman.[21]

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[18]Kingsbury, *Records of the Virginia Company*, IV, 404.

[19]See document B *post*, a William Epps, gent. of Ashford died in 1643, leaving a wife Margaret and sons William and Francis, but there is nothing in his will to link him with Captain William. (P.R.C. 31/119/209.)

[20]Samuel Gale, *History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Winchester* (London, 1715), pp. 83, 125; *Hampshire Parish Registers, Marriages, etc.*, ed. William P. W. Phillimore et als. (London, 1899-1919), IV, 15.

[21]Robert Furley, *History of the Weald of Kent* (Ashford, 1871-1874), II, 541*n*. There seems some confusion over this. Furley speaks as though the fine were paid in 1654, but from papers in the Tufton collection (K.A.O., U455 04), it is clear that a fine of £20,000, nearly £1,000,000 in modern terms, was placed on the estate in 1644. After an appeal in which Ann Clifford,

Heavy fines for delinquency may well have made him take a fresh interest in the claims staked out by his father of which he would only have had childhood memories.[22] Such a theory would explain both the careful transcripts and the questions probing a vaguely remembered story.

If in fact any such claim was made it is more than a little odd that no more formal record survives, but there is nothing among the Tufton papers to suggest that an actual claim was made nor that the family took any further interest in Virginia. Neither in Chancery nor in the House of Lords papers does there appear to be any reference to a suit brought by the Earl of Thanet regarding Virginia and there seems no reason to suppose that the matter was pressed in any way. It may well be that the death of the dowager Lady Thanet, in 1676, was the turning point, for through her the third Earl and his successors inherited the Clifford estates in Lancashire and Westmorland and the realisation of this great inheritance would have made further consideration of Virginia claims unnecessary.[23]

III

In editing this group of papers the copying of repetitious material has been avoided where possible. In particular this applies to 'B' the transcript volume where reference back is made to the series 'A' but only additional notes or significant variations of text are recorded. Known standard abbreviations have been extended or modernised and superscript letters avoided; unusual or uncertain abbreviations are retained. The use of capital letters is retained as in the original. Names are given exactly as recorded with a minimum number of editorial comments in square brackets. Errata or deletions are recorded, as also are all endorsements. In regard to these last nearly all documents bear endorsements in the hand of the transcriber, where this is not the case a special note is made to that effect. So far as possible the physical form of the document has been reproduced, but the number of words on a line does not necessarily accord with that of the original.[24]

Countess of Pembroke, assisted, this fine was reduced to £9,000 of which Thanet was able to pay £6,000 immediately, giving security at Goldsmiths Hall for the remaining £3,000 to be paid in three installments at three monthly intervals. It seems improbable that a second fine of £9,000 was paid in 1654.

[22]Although the date of his birth is uncertain his marriage in 1629 suggests that he would not have been more than in his early teens by 1620.

[23]On the death of the dowager the only claimant other than the 3rd Earl and his brothers was Althea Hungerford, but she died in 1678. It was not until 1691, however, that the 6th Earl (last of four brothers to succeed to the title in turn) substantiated his claim to the Clifford properties and barony.

[24]The full reference to these papers is Kent Archives Office: U455 E21/1-14.

A1 [10 June 1618.]

Be it knowne to all men present and to come That I Thomas Earle of Exceter have granted assigned and set over and by these presents doe grant assign and set over to my son in law Sir Nicolas Tufton of Hothfield in the Countie of Kent Knight all my adventures in Virginia and all my right title and interest to all such portion of Land and other profits in Virginia as by reason of my said Adventures and monie paid to the Treasurors and compaini of Virginia are or may or ought to belong unto me. To have and to hold the said Adventures and all my said right title and interest together with the said Land and other profits whatsoever to the said Sir Nicolas Tufton his Heirs and Assigns for ever. In Witness whereof I have hereto sett my seale the Tenth Day of June 1618. And in the Sixteenth yeare of his Maiesties reign etc.

Sealed and delivered
in presence of us[25]
Edwin Sandys
Humfry Tufton
Fra. Bentley

[Wafer seal]
Alowed by us[25]
Edwin Sandys
JO: Danvers
Jhon [*sic*] Wrothe

past and entred
Hen: Fotherby

[*Endorsed in contemporary hand*] The Earle of Exeters release to Sir Nicholas Tufton for his adventures in Virginia, 10 June 1618.

[*Endorsed in hand of transcriber*] This is entred in the booke touchinge the Virginian adventures follio 1st and 2nd.

A2 [15 June 1618][26]

[*Seal of Company*]

Whereas Sir Nicholas Tufton Knight hath paid in ready money to Sir *Thomas Smith* Knight, Treasurer of Virginia, the summe of fower score pounds being the remaynder of the Earl of Exetor's adventure [for his adventures *struck through*] towards the said voiage. It is agreed, that for the same, he the said Sir Nicholas Tufton his heirs, Executors, Administrators or Assignes, shall have ratably according to his Adventure, his full part of all such Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments as shall from time to time be there recovered, planted, and inhabited: And of such Mines and Minerals

[25]In a different hand from the remainder.

[26]This is a printed form of receipt and only the words printed in fancy type are inserted in longhand.

of Gold, Silver, and other Metals or Treasure, Pearles, Precious-stones, or any kinde of Wares, and Merchandizes, commodities or profits whatsoever, which shall be obtained or gotten in the said voiage, according to the portion of Money by him imploied to that use, in as ample manner as any other Adventurer therein shall receive for the like summe.

Written this 15 of June 1618
Sealed in the presence of
Fra: Carter

[*Endorsed*] Virginia – A Bill of Adventure to Sir Nicolas Tufton for 80 li. on 15 Junii 1618
entred folio 3rd

A3

5 July 1618 Anno Regni Regis Jacobi Decimo sexto etc.

RECEIVED of Sir Nicolas Tufton knight for his Adventure to Smyths Hundred in Virginia beeing for Twentie Shares after the Rate of Fiftie shillings the share the sum of Fiftie Pounds of lawfull monie of England	50 li.

[*Signature of*] Edwin Sandys

[*Endorsed*] Virginia. Sir Edwin Sandys his acquittance for 50 li. 5th July 1618. entred on the backside of folio 5th

A4

26 November 1618. Anno Regni Regis Jacobi decimo sexto.

Received of Sir Nicholas Tufton Knight, for the second payment of his adventure towards the plantatyon of Smythes Hundred in Virginia, being for twentye shares at Fifty shillings a share the sum of fiftye pounds of lawfull monye of England	50 li.

[*Signature of*] Edwin Sandys

[*Endorsed*] Sir Edwin Sandys his acquittance for 50 li. 26th November 1618. for Virginia
entred folio 7th

A5

6th May, 1619. Anno Regni Regis Jacobi decimo septimo.

Received of Sir Nicholas Tufton Knight for the Moytie of the first assessment of his second yeares adventure for twentye shares at fiftye shillings the share, being assessed in a generall Assembly held by the Adventurors of Smyths Hundred in Virginia the 29 of Aprill, 1619, the sum of twentye and five pounds of Lawfull monye of England — 25 li.

[*Signature of*] Edwin Sandys

[*Added*] Memorandum paid the same time to Francis Carter for two shares — vij li.

[*Endorsed*] Virginia. Sir Edwyn Sandis his receipt for 25 li. 6th May 1619 entred folio 7th.
[*Endorsed*] All these Writings are entred in this little Book

A6

3 Decembris 1619. Anno Regni Regis decimo Septimo, etc.

Received of Sir Nicolas Tufton Knight for One moitie of an Assesment of five pounds the share made by the Adventurors of Smiths Hundred in Virginia 29 Novembris 1619 beeing for Twentie Shares the sum of Fiftie Pounds of lawfull monie of England — 50 li

[*Signature of*] Edwin Sandys

[*Endorsed*] Virginia. Sir Edwin Sandys his acquittance for 50 li. [29 November 1619 *struck through*] for Virginia plantation

3rd Decembris *1619*
entred folio 8th

A7

Southampton Hundred — 29 Junii 1620. Anno Regni Regis Jacobi decimo octavo.

Received of Sir Nicolas Tufton Knight for his twenty shares by vertue of an assessment for three severall payments at Fiftie shillings the share, made in a generall Assembly held by the Adventurors for Southampton Hundred in Virginia the 29 May 1620 (viz. the first payment (being now paid) to have been the first day of this present moneth, the second on Alsaints day next and the thirde on Candlemas day ensueing) the sum of Fiftie pounds of lawfull mony of England } 50 li.

[*Signature of*] Edwin Sandys

[*Endorsed*] Sir Edwin Sandys his acquittance for 50 li.
29th Junii 1620 for Virginia plantacion
entred folio 8th

A8

[Identical with A7 but dated 18 Jan. 1620/1 being the third payment; the acquittance for the second payment is missing. Signed and endorsed as in A7, but entered on folio 9 of transcript.]

A9

X November 26 1618 ..... 50 li.
X July 5 1618 ..... 50 li.
July 30 1619 ..... 25 li.
X May 6 1619 ..... 25 li.
X December 3 1619 ..... 50 li.
Junii 5 1618 ..... 80 li.
To Mr. Cartar for 2 shares ..... 7 li. 14s.
January 14 1619 ..... 50 li.
but noe hand to thacquittance

[? *Added later*] payd in Midsommer terme after ..... 50 li.
payd the 9 of October 1620 to Sir Ed. Sandis at his house in Norborn being the last payment but one 50 li.

[*Endorsed in the same hand as the above addition*] The particulars of the monies paid to the Virginia Company
[*Endorsed in transcriber's hand*] Virginia Mr. Gregory Baker his note of payments towards the plantation in Virginia.

A10

Payd by the Honorable Sir Nicolas Tufton Kt. toward the planting and peopling of Southampton Hundred in Virginia

First paid a debt owing to the Company by the Rt. Honorable the Earle of Exeter	80 li.
Payd also for two shares bought to make up his number to Twenty	7 li.
Payd more in May 1618 for the first assessment at 2 li. 10s. a share, for Twenty shares	50 li.
Payd in November 1618 upon a second assesment after the same rate of Fifty shillings a share	50 li.
Payd in May 1619 upon a third assesment	50 li.
Payd also in December and February 1619 upon a third assesment at five pounds the share	100 li.
Sumpde [*sic*]	337 li os. od.
More levyed upon a new assesment of 50s a share to be paid at three payments 1 June, the 2 November being Alsaints day, and C[andlema]s day ensueing [the] [su]m of[27]	50. o. o.

[*Endorsed*] Moneys paid by Sir Nicolas Tufton at severall times to the Virginian Company. Drawen out by Sir Edwin Sandys.

A11 [Nov. 1613][28]

Whereas Anthony Irbye esquier hath paid in ready mony to Sir *Thomas Smith* Knight, Treasurer of Virginea, the summe of Twelve pounds and ten shillings for his adventures towards the said voiage. It is agreed, that for the same, he the said Anthony Irbye his heires, executors, administrators or assignes, shall have ratably according to his adventure, his full part of all such lands, tenements and hereditaments, as shall from time to time bee there recovered, planted and inhabited: And of such Mines and Mineralles of Gold, Silver, and other Metals or Treasure, Pearles, Precious stones, or any kinde of wares or Merchandizes, commodities or profits whatsoever,

[27]Defective along the fold.

[28]This is a printed form and only the words printed in fancy type are inserted in longhand. The day of month is omitted.

which shall be obtained or gotten in the said voiage, according to the portion of money by him imploied to that use, in as ample manner as any other Adventurer therein shall receive for the like summe.

Written this of November 1613
Sealed in the presence of
David Wakins

[*Added*] This bill was allowed and assigned unto Sir Nicholas Tufton bt. in a full coort 23th of May 1620, by us
[*Signatures of*] J. Danvers
John Ferrar
Jhon [*sic*] Wrothe

[*Endorsed in transcriber's hand.*] Anthonye Irbye Esqr. 12 li. 10s.
[*Endorsed in another contemporary hand.*] 2 payment
[*Endorsed in transcriber's hand.*] Anthonye Irbye Esqr. 12 li. 10s. for his adventure towards the Virginian plantation.
November *1613*.
This is entred folio 5th[29]

A12
[6 December 1618. Similar receipt to A11, for the third payment by Anthony Irbye. Witness: Valentine Markham. Added a similar certificate of assignment to Tufton, signed by Danvers, Ferror and Wrothe. Also added: 'This Mony was Receaved by John Caning.']
[*Endorsed in contemporary hand*] the 3rd payment
[*Endorsed in hand of transcriber*] Anthony Ierbye Esqr. 12 li. 10s. for his adventure towards the Virginia Plantation. December 1618.
Entred folio 6th.

B.
"A Copie of Severall wrytings Concerneing a plantation in Virginia of Sir Nicholas Tufton in the 16 of King James, 1618."

[Parchment covered booklet, 7½ x 6, 12 ff. Throughout in hand of endorser of series A1-12.]
[ff. 1, 2 *blank*]
[f. 3r] 10 June 1618. Thomas Earl of Exeter's assignment [*as in* A1].

[29]There is also an obscure note on the back of this document apparently "3 *op*," its significance is not known.

[f.3v] The somme of money paid into Cashe by the righte
One hundred and honorable the Earle of Exeter is 140 li. The which
Fortye poundes is passed over unto Sir Nicholas Tufton Knighte
140 li.

Markham

[f. 4r] 15 June 1618. A Bille of adventure to Sir Nicolas Tufton for 80 li. under the Companys seale [*as in* A2]

[f. 4v *blank*]

[f. 5r] November 1613. Anthony Irbye Esqr. his adventure of 12 li. 10s. [*as in* A11]

[f. 5v] 5 July 1618. [Receipt *as in* A3] [*Added in margin in different hand*] Theis twenty shares lye in Smiths Hundred [*Also added at foot of page*] This is entred on this side, being the backe side of Folio 5th, because the [said *added above in different hand*] acquittance was by chance found after the others, and soe entred on the backside of Folio 5th [being the other side turning backwards *added in a different hand.*]

[f. 6r] 6 December 1618. Anthonye Ierbey Esqr. his adventure of 12 li. 10s. [*as in* A12]

[f. 6v *blank*]

[f. 7r] 26 November 1618. [Receipt *as in* A4.] [*Added in margin in different hand*] Relating to Smiths Hundred. 6 May 1619. [Receipt *as in* A5 *with addition as above.*]

[f. 7v *blank*]

[f. 8r] 3 December 1619. [Receipt *as in* A6 *with addition as above.*]
29 June 1620. [Receipt *as in* A7.]

[f. 8v *blank*]

[f. 9r] 18 January 1620/1. [Receipt *as in* A8.]

[f. 9v *blank*]

[f. 10r] Moneys paid by the honorable Sir Nicolas Tufton Knt. [*as in* A10, *but with following additions*]:

More paid as apeares at the lower end of Sir Edwin Sandis his acquittance dated 6th May 1619 for two shares	007 li.
More paid the 9th of October to Sir Edwyn Sandys at his house at Norborn being the laste payment but one	50 li.
Some disbursed hitherto is	444 li.

Looke over the leafe

[f. 10v] More paid the 5th of Julye 1618 to Sir Edwin Sandys for the adventure to Smyths hundred in Virginia — 50 li.

Somme total hitherto is 494 li.

[*Marginal note in different hand*] Relating to Smithes Hundred.

[f. 11r] And there was paid by the Rt. Honorable the Earle of Exeter before his assignment to Sir Nicolas Tufton — 140 li.

this apeares on the backside of the assignement

Enquire what my Lord of Exeter was out of purse in this Virginian plantation more than the above mencioned 140 li.

Captaine Epps was employed by Sir Nicholas Tufton (afterwards created Baron of Tufton and Earle of Thanett) to looke after his plantation in Virginia, and remained thereupon severall yeares. His [then *added above*] wife [Mrs. Eppes *struck through*] was with him there, and since his death is maried to one Mr. Bradshaw, a Prebend of Winchester, and there lives with her [now *added above*] husband, and there shee maye bee heard of. Her sister Mrs. Harthwaye, was with her in Virginia, soe that it is very probable that one of these, or both, maye give some lighte in the businesse.

[f. 11v, 12 *blank*]

C.

[4 pp. in different hand from remaining documents.]

Quaeries
Concerning a plantation in Virginia

I

Wither the planter so quaestioned hath any concern or that any of his friends hath or that himselfe hath any acquaintance or knowledge in or of Smiths hundred: Or of Southampton's hundred.

II

How many yeares a planter, or his deputy, or Agent beeing absent from the plantation, either by the troubles occasioned by the insurrection of the Indians, or by any other reason or cause best knowne to themselves, doethe [*written above* may *struck through*] weaken or preiudice his title to his said

land and plantation theere, although in his, or in his Agents, or in both their absence another person be got into that plantation, and hath been in it for several yeares.

III

Wither the first planter or Owner having built upon the plantation and continued for several yeares an Agent, Deputy, or Stuard thereon, another thorough their absence, and totaly without their leaves at present enioieth that plantation, can take any advantage by his now present possession beeing of severall yeares to deprive the first Owner of his right.

IV

Wither the first Owner having several writings of shares and adventures, that hee hath bought of other people then Adventurers, as likewise acquitances from the Treasurer of the Company for Several Summes of money by him the first Owner disbursed, which weere allowed to him in full Court and sealed too with the Kinges arms properly allotted to the Virginia Company [Wither *struck through*] these things being considered, will not strengthen the first Owners title, against the Agressor or person now in possession.

V

The wife of the Agent of the first Owner of the Plantation beeing yet living, what meanes must be used heere in England to have the Evidence Shee can give made Authentique (shee having beene in Virginia with her husband) that such a Plantation was in the possession of the first owner, and that her husband Lived upon it by his Apointment, as his Agent, Deputy, or Steward for several yeares.

VI

If hee knew or heard of one Captaine Epps, a mad ranting fellow that was a Kentishman, borne about Ashfurd, and likewise if hee knew one Mistriss Harthwaye, Sister to the said Captaine Epps wife who lived with her in Virginia; and what is become of her.

[*Added in a different hand*] Mr. Edward Diggs (in Cromwell's tyme Governors of Virginia) informed Nicholas Earle of Thanet by Letter dated the 25th of November 1667 that in his time there, there was noe Law that could debarr the said Earle's claime, and hee conceives that noe Law can bee made in Virginia contrary to the Law of England which allowes five yeares after the partyes arrivale from beyond sea to put in his claime.

THE RESTORATION OF CHRIST'S CROSS, NEW KENT COUNTY, VIRGINIA

by HARDEN DE V. PRATT III*

IN the winter of 1953 I was called upon by the present owners of "Christ's Cross" to undertake its restoration. For nearly three hundred years this remarkable building has served first as the residence of the Poindexter family; as a meeting place for the Vestry of St. Peter's Church before the present brick church was built, and as a refuge for Mrs. Fitzhugh Lee when she fled the "White House" during the War between the States.

During all these years alterations and additions were made so that this venerable structure had become a sorry sight on the verge of collapse. For nearly ten years I had visited the house, taking photographs, measurements and talking to former owners. Also I had read what meager accounts had been written[1] and was aided somewhat by a set of plans prepared by the Historical American Building Survey of the United States Government.

The original design of Christ's Cross was that of a story and one-half rectangle with story and one-half "porch" facing south; the main portion of the house running east and west. The walls are of Flemish bond brick with black headers. This type of house is medieval in character, the style that was used at Jamestown and other early seventeenth-century houses, in fact the earliest of this type as it consisted of but two rooms on the first floor, the "Great Hall" and one other of smaller size — there was no central hall as in later seventeenth-century houses of this type. The style has been designated as Tudor by various architects who have studied the building.

Sometime, perhaps about 1740, a long wing was added to the north which made the plan similar to that of a Latin cross and gave the name of "Christ's Cross" to the building. Also the name later became or was called by some people "Criss Cross."

To have restored "Christ's Cross" to its original condition would have been an extremely expensive affair. The paneling alone, all fashioned by hand of white oak mortised and tenoned would have run into thousands of dollars, to say nothing of the floors, chimneys, doors, trim and leaded glass casement sash, wrought iron hardware, etc. All that possibly could

*Mr. Pratt, an architect, divides his time between Westerly, Rhode Island, and Tappahannock, Virginia.

[1]See Singleton Peabody Moorehead, "Christ's Cross," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XLIII (1935), 1-7.

FLOURNOY, VIRGINIA STATE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Christ's Cross, New Kent County, Virginia

FLOURNOY, VIRGINIA STATE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

The Great Hall, Christ's Cross

FLOURNOY, VIRGINIA STATE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

The Tudor Doors, Christ's Cross

be done was to remove all excrescences and get down to the original structure, taking notes, making measurements, but leaving undisturbed every possible element of the original building.

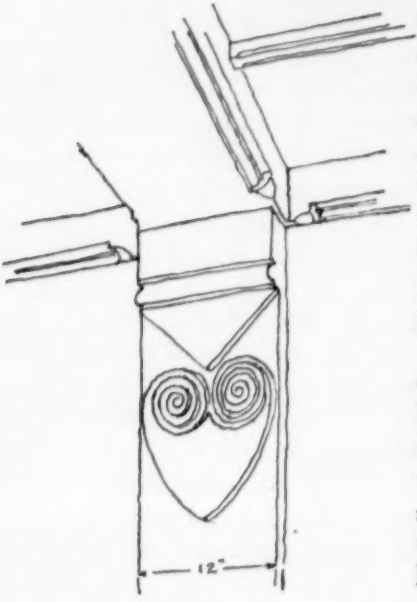
The owners agreed that all utilities, plumbing, heating, etc. should be excluded from the original rectangular structure and confined to the later north wing. Even the bathrooms were placed in this wing; also the kitchen. As for the heating, the first floor was served by ducts in the floor while the second floor was heated by ducts in the ceiling carried in the walls to the attic and then blown downward into the second floor bedrooms.

The house is entered through the opening at the south of the "porch" which did not originally have doors, but was merely an opening in the brickwork. Also the two openings at the east and west of the porch on the first floor were not windows as they are at present, but contained spindles as did the porch of Bond Castle, Maryland, and Parsonage Farm, Herefordshire, England, circa 1600. The reason for this deduction is the fact that beneath the floor of the porch, when it was being repaired, was found the lower half of a spindle exactly the same in profile and design as was used in the porch opening at Bond Castle, Maryland. This spindle or baluster is in a dehydrated condition, a light gray in color and has almost no weight. A plinth block to a baluster which I found under the altar beneath the floor of St. Peter's church nearby also shows the same characteristics of color and weight.

The ceiling of the porch has a summer beam with smaller beams with moulded edges. The brick walls contain wood block grounds to which paneling similar to the Tudor doors had been attached; none of the woodwork has ever been painted in its nearly three hundred years of existence.

From the porch, one enters directly into the Great Hall over a threshold six inches thick which in the center has been worn down almost to a feather edge. The most famous Tudor doors, probably the oldest wooden doors in America, hang on the north wall of the porch. So unique are these doors that they are difficult to describe. They are hung on wrought iron pins with leather washers. The double doors are made up of six sunken panels each – the two top panels of each door are rectangular vertically, the center panels, square, while the lower two panels are also rectangular vertically but twice the length of the top panels. So different is the design of these doors from anything else existing in Virginia that even the experienced architect can hardly believe his eyes. The mouldings on the doors, as on the architrave around these doors, are also Tudor in character.

The summer beam of the Great Hall is of solid oak more than twelve inches square; extending as it does from one chimney on the east to that on the west, this summer beam is over forty feet long. It rests in the center on the amazing carved king post with its Romanesque-Ionic capital. This capital is carved on two sides; one in the Great Hall, and the other in the dining room. Above the plaster board ceiling were found the smaller moulded beams four inches wide and six inches deep. At the side of the king post is an original Tudor architrave around the door leading to the present dining room.



Under the wall board which was covering the brickwork or chimney breast was found the outline and profile of a bracket, on both chimneys, which supported the end of the large summer beam. These two brackets were pilaster capitals apparently carved like that of the Romanesque-Ionic capital.

The original stair opening was discovered in the ceiling of the Great Hall in the northeast corner. This must have been similar to that of the Wishart House, Norfolk, Virginia, circa 1680, possibly enclosed with a paneled partition and a door at the bottom of the stairs.

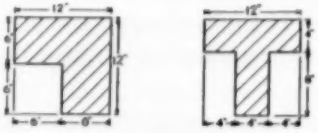
The whole first floor must have been paneled in oak similar in style to the Tudor as grounds found in the brick walls and partitions would indicate.

On the second floor, besides the bedroom over the porch, there are two bedrooms, one to the east and one to the west. Each of these bedrooms has a fireplace, also one dormer facing south and one dormer facing north. These dormers do not center over the first floor windows below, but between the second floor porch wall and the eaves of the roof to the east and west. The framing for these dormers was discovered after the second floor ceiling plaster was removed.

Originally all the windows were leaded glass casements with transom bars, similar to those of St. Peter's church nearby. A former owner showed

me the leaded glass fragments, both diamond panes and lead cames, similar to those excavated under the windows of St. Peter's church.

The north wing which may have replaced a small lean-to is also of great age although not as old as the main house. Here were found corner posts and posts where a partition met the outside frame wall cut by adz from solid twelve inch timbers. A corner post would be L shape gouged out from a solid twelve inch oak timber, only a post six by twelve inches remaining.



The post where a partition met the outside wall would be T shape gouged from a twelve inch square timber twelve inches in length along the top and stem of the T but only four inches in thickness. These huge timbers extended from sill to plate two stories high.

In the basement of the north wing is a batten door of remarkable workmanship wide boards nailed to vertical boards. The hinges are hand wrought, bolted with thick leather washers. Also there is a fine fireplace with rounded corners at the rear.

Where early eighteenth-century trim and dadoes were used in the north wing the execution of the mouldings is beautifully done, especially where a dado cap returns upon itself. In the main portion of the house this Renaissance trim has replaced the Tudor, but it has been so well executed that it seemed hardly worth while to replace it with restored trim of Tudor design.

The whole house is like a three-hundred-year-old history of Virginia architecture including the Victorian staircase used by Mrs. Fitzhugh Lee, rather than an authentic restoration confined to a certain year in the seventeenth century.

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH IN THE LIGHT OF STYRIAN SOURCES

by J. Franz Pichler*

To find the traces of a man who professed, three and a half centuries ago, to have visited a foreign country and there to have distinguished himself on a battlefield, where thousands of mercenaries and adventurers of many lands were involved, may be a tempting but most likely a somewhat difficult venture.

This man came on his own, without rank and authority or political recommendation. The happy circumstance of being able to rely on the testimony of his relations[1] of his experiences is offset by the doubts entertained by critics of the veracity of his travels and adventures. It was therefore not unnatural to try to find verification of his relations in other independent sources. A search of Styrian sources did indeed bring surprising if partial results; the related archival material, although often fragmentary, affords many detailed insights. It was therefore necessary to consult and take into account everything that would serve any argument, no matter how indirect.

Captain John Smith offers some very favorable opportunities for such research. He relates not only important historical trends or events which could easily be gathered out of contemporary literature, but describes details which clearly have only local importance and could hardly be commonly known and therefore provide an ideal touchstone for the veracity of his accounts.[2]

It would not be interesting to confront Smith's relations with commonly known historical events. In checking his story one must try to test his reliability wherever a favorable opportunity presents itself in the legion of details and in the local background of events. Only a local historical magnifying glass can make visible those traits, forces, and details which remain unnoticed on the wider historical horizon, and therefore are soon forgotten so that they may later appear nonexistent to the general observer.

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*Dr. Pichler is archivist of the Central Archive of Styria, Graz, Austria. This article was translated from German to English by Dr. Laura Polanyi Striker.

[1]John Smith, *The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captain John Smith, in Europe, Asia, Affrica, and America, from Anno Domini 1593 to 1629* . . . (London, 1630).

[2]This work represents mainly a review of my research in the Styrian Provincial Archive for Dr. Laura Polanyi Striker's "Captain John Smith's Hungary and Transylvania," Appendix to Bradford Smith, *Captain John Smith, His Life and Legend* (Philadelphia and New York, 1953), pp. 311-342.

The events related in the *True Travels* which are tested here are in short the following:[3] John Smith arrived in Graz in 1601, evidently not before summer, after having been in Rome at Eastertide, where he paid his respects to Father Robert Parsons, Rector of the English College. On his way north, via Laibach, the capital of Slovenia, Smith had taken his time sightseeing in Italy and along the coasts of Albania and Dalmatia. Graz was the capital of Styria, the residence of the Archduke Ferdinand, governor of the Inneraustrian provinces of Styria, Karinthia, and Krain, who in 1619 as Ferdinand II became Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Here Smith allegedly met an English Jesuit and an Irish Jesuit,[4] who introduced him to high personalities, among others to "General of the Archducal Artillery Baron Kissell." Following this introduction he participated in the relief of Fort Olumpagh, which was beseiged by the Turks. He claimed to have contributed to the success of the fight by communicating by means of torch telegraphy with the commander "Lord Ebersbaught" and further by a fake attack with pyrotechnics. In consequence of this victory, Kissell was favorably received in Kermend, and Smith himself was honored by being named captain over 250 cavalry under the command of "Colonel Volda, Earl of Meldritsch." With Volda he proceeded to the Imperial Army which began the reconquest of Alba Regalis (Stuhlweissenburg, Szekesfehervar) under the leadership of the Duke de Mercoeur. Here he also contributed so-called "fiery dragons" which he had earlier demonstrated to the General of the Artillery, Count Sultz, in Komarom.

The competence of the Styrian Provincial Archive for corroborating a number of these reports is evident, especially for Smith's stay in Graz and his relationship to the various men in the court to whom he refers. The reported war events are, however, outside of Styria in West Hungarian territory (today Jugoslavia). Their harbingers and consequences can therefore often be traced only in their effects. However, the call upon Styria for aid in the reconquest of the recently lost main fort Kanizsa and the role played in it by Archduke Ferdinand had to leave some vestiges in the archives.

The military files (Militaria) of the archives of the Estates concentrated principally on the lands between the Drau and the Save Rivers. But the highly dangerous effects of the loss of Kanizsa on neighboring Styria were naturally strongly felt, and the care taken for the security of the territory before Kanizsa is shown in many documents and counsels. As it was the

[3]Smith, *True Travels*, Chapters III, IV, and V.

[4]Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes. Contayning a History of the World, in Sea Voyages, & Lande-Travells, by Englishmen & others* . . . (London, 1625).

responsibility of the Emperor and the Hungarian Diet to safeguard the frontier between the Raab and the Mur, the aid provided by Styria was really supplementary reinforcements.[5] The situation of the Styrian sources is greatly hampered by the total loss of the contemporary files of the Inneraustrian government which would have given an important basis for the study of all the political and military measures of the Archduke Ferdinand. The files of the Hofkammer, the financial office of the government, which survive in greater volume, help to fill in these sources with very instructive material, but are of course related primarily to financial requests.

Alas also, all private archival material, such as correspondence and notes of interested persons, which could have contributed to the solution of the problem, is lacking. Thus our source material shows certain limitations from the start, and it is admittedly not possible to bring light into the whole local history of the territory in question. Considering the necessity of supplementary material, the following sources were also consulted: the State Archive and War Archive in Vienna, the main Bavarian State Archive, the Library of the University of Munich, which was of interest in view of its "Turcica" and contemporary relations, the Central Archive of the Society of Jesus in Rome, the Episcopal Archive in Graz, the Provincial Archive of the Burgenland in Eisenstadt, the Batthyani Archive on Burg Gussing, and the State Archive in Maribor (Jugoslavia).

The first results of the analysis of Smith's report on the basis of these archival sources was a surprising orientation on details and an unerring choice of the historically right way to start. It would be absurd to suppose that such a tale could be a deliberate fabrication based on a study of history by the storyteller at his desk. The details Smith writes had to be either freely invented, and thus unidentifiable, or else principally self-experienced and as such should be at least partially recognizable, even if somewhat colored.

In Graz, Smith's path led him first to the Jesuits. He went to them evidently with recommendations which he brought from Father Parsons in Rome. If he, a Protestant, were to have any chance of gaining entrance to a circle which at the height of the Counter Reformation used every means to exclude anything Protestant, it would be accomplished only by means of a recommendation of this kind. As a matter of fact, English Jesuits can be recognized in Graz in the year 1601 and as teachers at the Jesuit university

[5]Johann Loserth, *Innerösterreich und die militärischen Massnamen gegen die Türken im 16 Jahrhundert: Studien zur Geschichte der Landesdefension und der Reichshilfe*, in *Forschungen zur Verfassungs-und-Verwaltungsgeschichte der Steiermark*, Vol. XI, No. 1 (Graz, 1934).

there.[6] (Smith seems to have dropped the Jesuit status of the "Englishman" in his edition of 1630 (*True Travels*) in recognition of the importunity of mentioning Jesuits in his homeland at the time.

However, there was at that time in Graz William Wright,[7] born in York (Aboracum) who entered the Jesuit Order in Rome in 1583, where he graduated, and who quite probably was in personal touch with Father Parsons, the director of the Jesuit Institute in Rome. He was professor of philosophy and theology at the Jesuit university of Graz and dean in 1599-1600. In 1602 he was promoted there to Doctor of Theology. There was further William Johnston,[8] born in Nevis in Scotland in 1572, who entered the Jesuit order in Leyden in 1588, and who in view of his high intelligence and distinguished scholarship was called to teach at the university in Graz, where he was professor of philosophy, logic, physics, and metaphysics in 1599-1601. And finally there was Master Johann Ogilbeus[9] of noble Scottish descent, an outstanding teacher in Graz in 1601 in the first grade of the high school (Gymnasium).

The Jesuits quite rightly recommended Smith, who professed to be a pyrotechnical expert, which he might have become in the Netherlands warfare, to the man who was most competent in this field. Also this man, his "General of the Archducal Artillery, Baron Kissell" is a proven historical personality, whose position and competence would, however, hardly have been known in wider circles, and whose mention by Smith must therefore be valued as a decisive proof of an actual personal relationship.

This is Hanns Jacob Khissl (in the *True Travels* Smith writes Kissel), Baron of Kaltenbrunn, Court War Counselor of the Archduke Ferdinand who on April 12, 1601,[10] had appointed him Lieutenant Colonel of the Arsenal. His functions justify the title Smith gives him, since the whole artillery was at his command. He had charge of the armories, masters of ordnance, gunsmiths, gunners, cartwrights and smiths, and carpenters. The munitions, the powder, lead, nitre, and sulphur, and all persons dealing

[6]Franz von Krones, *Geschichte der Karl-Franzens Universität in Graz* (Graz, 1886).

[7]Almae ac celeberrimae Universitatis Graecensis S. J. Lustrum von Sporeno-Thonhauser. IX-XI, p. 114; Alexander Szoreny, *Propylaeum Bibliothecae almae ac celeberrimae Universitatis Graecensis* (Graz, 1703), pp. 29-30; Krones, *Geschichte der Karl-Franzens Universität*, p. 379.

[8]Lustrum IV and V, p. 72, Szoreny, *Propylaeum Bibliothecae*, p. 12; J. N. Stoeger, *Scriptores Provinciae Austriacae* S. J. (Wien-Regensburg, 1856), p. 156; Richard Peinlich, *Geschichte des Gymnasiums in Graz, 2 Periode-Collegium, Gymnasium und Universität unter den Jesuiten* (Graz, 1869), pp. 68, 102; Krones, *Geschichte der Karl-Franzens Universität*, p. 377.

[9]Lustrum, IV and V, p. 6; Peinlich, *Geschichte des Gymnasium in Graz, 2 Periode*, pp. 47, 104.

[10]Hofkammerregistraturbuch, 1601, fol. 216'. All archival material, unless otherwise indicated, is in the Styrian Provincial Archive in Graz, Austria, which is hereafter cited as StLA.

with munitions came under him. In all matters of artillery the Inneraustrian provinces were under his jurisdiction, for he had to inspect and certainly to take part in all war expeditions which demanded a Chief of Artillery. The scope and quality of his functions make it practically unavoidable that Smith should have been directed to him.

Khissl's competence becomes still clearer if one studies the negotiations between the reigning Duke (Ferdinand) and the Estates about the nomination of a Chief of Artillery[11] and about provision for the maintenance of the artillery and munitions. Archduke Ferdinand had at first made a proposition to the Diet on December 4, 1600, in which he tried to shove the responsibility for the artillery and munitions onto the Estates and to oblige them to provide and keep a Chief of Artillery for which position they should nominate "some Catholics." The Estates refused to take over these obligations, saying that they had no resources for them, and that if the Archduke considered the position of an artillery chief a necessity, he should take care of his keep. The Estates found only – and here appears the strong Protestant character of the nobility – that for the choice of such a man "rather his qualifications than his religion should be considered."[12] When the Archduke answered about a "well-qualified" man, his choice certainly favored a Catholic. In spite of all his repeated arguments, the Archduke could not induce the Estates to take over the expensive charge of a Chief of Artillery, and thus the maintenance of this position and the whole matter of artillery and munitions came under the exclusive jurisdiction of the reigning duke.

Following his meeting with Khissl, Smith professes to have participated in the liberation of Fort Olumpagh which was surrounded and besieged by the Turks. The search for this site in Westhungarian territory and its identification will be dealt with later.

Smith then leaves Styria and enters the so-called Kanizsa territory, that part of the frontier lying between the Raab and Mur Rivers. This, however, according to the Order of Defense of 1577, which determined the responsibility for the defense of the various parts of the frontier between the Emperor and the endangered provinces of Austria, lay beyond the jurisdiction of the Duke and the Estates of Styria. Did Khissl have anything to do with this area? Does Smith not show himself in a situation which would hardly be historically possible? The research on this question requires a more intensive study of the overall military situation of the time and space in which

[11]Landtagshandlungen, 1600,1601. Verhandlungspunkt 6 nach der Landtagsproposition vom 4. XII, 1600. StLA.
[12]Landtagsakten Sch: 457. Ddo. 1600 XII, 15, 17. StLA.

Graz from the South in 1635

The Jesuit University in Graz (1) and the Residence of the Archduke Ferdinand (17)

Contemporary Map with Misleading Distortion

Modern Map Showing Correct Relationships

Smith was moving. The relationship between Styria and the Westhungarian frontier plays, of course, an important role in this question.

In October 1600 the important main fort Kanizsa, the center of the "Weitschawarian" frontier which was supposed to defend the Mur Valley entrance into the southeast part of the Empire and was therefore called the Gateway and Defense Wall of the near Austrian and neighboring German Christian provinces and the "Key to Germany," fell into the hands of the Turks. Dread and panic ran through the neighboring provinces. As a result of the penetrated flank the frontier fort Bowonitsch[13] as well as the smaller castles in the defense belt of Kanizsa fell prey to the hordes of the enemy, which overran the countryside burning and looting towards the west.[14]

"Instead of the hoped for respite the worry fell straight against us," laments the Archduke at the Diet of 1600. "The enemy has attacked the country from Kanizsa close to Radkersburg out of the blue and has devastated and spoiled the country through robbery, fire, and murder and either massacred or taken into beastly servitude many thousands of Christians and brought the rest into the most damnable submission."[15]

Thus in October 1600 conferences were already under way to institute security actions in the Kanizsa territory. The Styrian Estates, of course, never ceased stressing that according to the Order of Defense, the Emperor had taken upon himself, as King of Hungary, the obligation to take care of the defense of the frontier up to the Drau without the help of the Styrian Duke.[16] But the threatening danger minimized the stiff recriminations about responsibility. The Styrian Estates widely shared the definite feeling that in the interest of the security of their own country, they must also contribute to the defense of the neighboring West Hungarian territory.

As early as October 15, 1600, the delegates of the Styrian Estates were deliberating the formation of a commission to be sent to erect blockhouses and to contact the neighboring Hungarian nobility.[17] These were also aware of the insufficience of the Imperial help and directed their requests for aid to the Styrian neighbor.[18] Thomas Setchi de Rima, Lord of Oberlimbach, in November 1600 requested the Duke and the Estates to assist him with troops on horse and on foot and to station them on his land to meet un-

[13]Hofkammer, 1601. Juni, Nr. 41. StLA.
[14]Landtagshandlungen, 1600, fol. 164. StLA.
[15]Landtagschandlungen, 1600, fol. 164. StLA.
[16]Landtagshandlungen, 1601, fol. 201. Landtagsratschläge 4, XII, 1600; Landtagshandlungen, 1600, fol. 289. StLA.
[17]Verordnetenprotokolle, 1600, fol. 114'. StLA.
[18]Landtagsratschläge vom 4, XII, 1600. StLA.

foreseen raids and attacks of the Turks so that the submission demanded by the archenemy might be fended off.[19] Repeating his request he indicated that following his plea the Emperor had already sent troops to the territory of the Raab, but that it would be more important for the defense of Styria to safeguard the territory of the Mur and consequently to maintain on his estates, at least 200 hussars and 300 "Haramia" (roving mercenary troops) on foot, of which 100 could be dispersed to different watchtowers. He also asked for some batteries and blunderbusses for Olsznitz. He himself promised to do everything that the emergency required and which could be expected from him, but without this help his subjects would have to submit to the Turks.[20]

The Estates regretted that they could not rehire the Hungarian and Wend (Serbian) troops which were assigned to them to defend the frontier sector between the Drau and the Save, but to be somewhat coöperative they did put a small detachment of horsemen under the leadership of Felician Wagen de Wagensberg at Olsznitz and its surrounding territory.[21]

Franz de Batthyani, as delegate of the county of Eisenburg, asked the Duke and the Estates of Styria for help. The passes to Hungary and Styria, he pleaded, "are open" to the enemy, because between Kermend and Unterlimbach (Lendava) there were no castles which could offer offense against and resistance to so strong and mighty an enemy. It was therefore necessary in the interest of defending eastern Styria to build some forts and blockhouses in this area; the forces of the county, badly devastated by the enemy, were no longer sufficient, so that an eight-day corvée had to be requested from the neighbor.[22]

The Hungarian Diet was naturally also handling the question of the defense of the territory of Kanizsa. There arose a great dispute between the resident Hungarian gentlemen about the question of whether the defense line should be erected on the Mur or the Raab. The Hungarian counselors gave their opinion on March 31, 1601, that to hinder the raids and robberies of the enemy it would be more useful to have strong frontier castles as near as possible to Kanizsa and not as far away as the Raab River because all the intervening country would be relinquished to the Turks. They proposed that a Hungarian and German commission ride along the frontier and also that the commanders of the frontier places and related castles should

[19]Militaria, 1600, Akt ddo. 1600, XI, 23, Oberlimbach. StLA.
[20]Militaria, 1600, Akt ddo. 1600, XII, 1. Oberlimbach. StLA.
[21]Militaria, 1600, Akt ddo. 1600, XII, 6, Graz; Landschaftliches Registraturbuch, 1600, fol. 105'. StLA.
[22]Militaria, 1601, Akt ddo. 1601, II, 6; Landschaftliches Registraturbuch, 1601, fol. 7', 13'. StLA.

be interviewed, and the most adequate arrangements of the defense belt should be made accordingly. The Emperor should also call on the Archduke Ferdinand for the collaboration of Styria.[23]

The War Council accordingly proposed as early as March a committee of delegates of the Emperor, the Archduke Matthias for Austria, Archduke Ferdinand for Styria and the Hungarian Estates.[24] According to an "Instruction" of Archduke Matthias, the committee was to meet on May 6 in Radkersburg for the necessary preparatory talks. They were then to inspect the passes in the direction of Kanizsa, at which the assault of the enemy could be warded off, and find out which places could be fortified most advantageously and which should be settled as main frontier outposts and designated as castles and minor frontier houses to which the military stationed at the Raab should be transferred. Some of the Hungarian nobility whose subjects had submitted to the Turks requested imperial military forces to be put into their castles threatened by the enemy. The commissioners therefore had to designate the castles they thought should be occupied and were also supposed to call upon their owners to retain some troops so that not all expense would be charged to the Emperor alone. After the inspection of the frontier, another joint commission was to consult about the distribution of the corvées necessary to the building of the proposed frontier houses.[25]

Unfortunately further documents about the procedure and deliberation of this commission are missing. The Styrian Estates had delegated Ehrenreich von Saurau to the commission on the second of May.[26] Styria was most concerned about the frontier of Radkersburg. Even before the end of 1600 there were instructions to strengthen its fortifications[27] and in April and June 1601 the instructions were renewed to survey the fortifications for necessary repairs, to clear the moats, and to heighten the walls.[28] On May 25 the city asked for troops, as the news about the enemy became more threatening day by day. In the direction of Kanizsa the Hungarian and Wend (Serbian) peasants were fleeing in swarms, and from Hungary there was news that the Turks not only had fortified Kanizsa very strongly but

[23]Kriegsarchiv, 1601, März, Nr. 179, Wien.
[24]Kriegsarchiv, 1601, März, Nr. 179, Wien.
[25]Kriegsarchiv, 1601, März, Nr. 179, Wien.
[26]Landschaftliches Registurbuch, 1601, fol. 34, 35'. StLA.
[27]Landschaftliches Ausgabenbuch, 1600, p. 26; Verordnetenprotokolle, 1600, Sitzung vom 3, XI, 1600. StLA.
[28]Militaria, Befestigungen, Radkersburg, 1601, Akt ddo. 1601, IV, 2 und VI, 2. StLA.

that they were concentrated in such numbers that they intended shortly to make raids into Styria with 8,000 men.[29]

On May 27 Hanns Schwarz, the commander of the Fort and Dominion of Radkersburg, reported to Archduke Ferdinand that the Turks had come with 800 cavalry to Csesztreg and were waiting there for their infantry. Happily the Turks and the Tartars had started to fight each other on their way because the Turks wanted to keep their promise of immunity for those who had submitted, but the Tartars did not want to make exceptions. The Turks returned to Kanizsa and Kis Komarom, and the Tartars went raiding and burning in the direction of Lake Balaton. There was a rumor that about 12,000 Turks and Tartars were around Kis Komarom – "Only God knows what the dogs want to start under this pretext."[30]

In the panic and furor caused by this Turkish advance, Schwarz acted swiftly and on his own responsibility. He immediately supplied Olsznitz, the last fortified place before Radkersburg, with powder, lead, and fuses and this action, for which he could not first ask permission on account of the enemy threat which already for the third time enjoined submission, was subsequently ratified to keep and fortify Olsznitz in its unfailing perseverance.[31]

In a similar emergency in June, Schwarz had to help "Limbach." In analogy to other statements in our sources, it would be the more eastward lying Unterlimbach (Lendava), which was aflame. Also these expenses were sanctioned.[32] To meet the threatening danger which towards summer became more imminent, the company of foot soldiers of the Styrian cities and market places were assigned under the leadership of Carl Ambrose Caprin at Radkersburg, and the garrisons of the castles were also reinforced.[33]

In the middle of July the reports of gatherings of troops and the aggressive intentions of the Turks against Koprenitz on the Wend frontier were becoming more frequent.[34] Archduke Ferdinand granted powder and guns to Georg Banffy[35] to better defend his castle Szemenye.[36]

On July 27 Hanns Schwarz reported to the Archduke a reconnaissance raid, made by hussars in the direction of Kaniza. They were able to take two prisoners who reported that the fortress was being diligently fortified

[29]Militaria, 1601, Akt ddo. 1601, V, 25, Radkersburg. StLA.
[30]Hofkammer, 1601, Juni, Nr. 3; Hofkammerregistraturbuch, 1601, fol. 331'. StLA.
[31]Hofkammer, 1601, Juni, Nr. 3; Hofkammerregistraturbuch, 1601, fol. 331'. StLA.
[32]Hofkammerregistraturbuch, 1601, fol. 274. StLA.
[33]Militaria, Befestigungen, Radkersburg, 1601, Akt ddo. 1601, VI, 2; Hofkammer, 1601, Juni, Nr. 38. StLA.
[34]Militaria, 1601, Akt ddo. 1601, VII, 9, 29, Kopreinitz. StLA.
[35]Homan Szekfü, *Magyar Történet* (Budapest, 1939). Map on p. 224. Hofkammerregistraturbuch, 1601, fol. 409. StLA.
[36]Meillerakten XIII. StLA.

and well provisioned, and that the newly arrived Hasan Pasha denied the wishes of the Janitschars to make robbing and plundering raids "as they still have their intentions on peace."[37] Were these only fake maneuvers?

On July 31 Lieutenant Colonel Sigmund Fridrich de Trautmansdorf reported from St. Gotthard to Hanns Sigmund, Baron of Herberstein, commander in chief of the Wend frontier, that on the preceding day news had arrived from Unterlimbach that two nights previously the enemy in great numbers was starting something against this area from Kanizsa. He could get no verification of it from other parts, but held his military force in readiness and had given orders that he should be informed as soon as anything was known about an advance of the enemy.[38]

This was the military situation which Smith encountered in the summer of 1601 in West Hungary. It must be explicitly stated that it is reconstructed from only fragmentary and nonessential neighboring sources. Noticeably Khissl, who surely was very much involved in such situations, does not appear in any of these documents, probably because the Inneraustrian files are missing. Doubtless access to the complete sources would make the Turkish danger appear still more real than this reconstruction from only partial reactions to the panic which it caused. Averting of enemy raids was the constantly recurring consideration in all actions during these months.

There would therefore hardly be any reason to doubt the validity of Smith's Olumpagh if we could find a report of this matter in our sources, it fits so naturally into the contemporary military situation. It would corroborate the Turkish intentions Trautmansdorf reported because from the beginning of August through the concentration against Kanizsa, which also has the offices changing locations, the sources become scarcer. The details Smith reports about the liberation of this fort give a lively war picture which, although it shows strong individual features, in its tactical examples brings a vivid instance of the new methods of warfare using ruses which were quite common stratagems of the time.

Smith's story is that the Turks after occupying Kanizsa, in the course of their operations originating there, attacked the strongly fortified Olumpagh and cut it off from all contact with the outside so completely that it seemed impossible to give any hope of help to the besieged inside. Smith offered to communicate with the commander of the fort, Lord Ebersbaught, through torch signals, the key of which he had previously given him, and accordingly an attack and sortie were carried out. Khissl, delighted by the proposi-

[37]Militaria, 1601, Akt ddo. 1601, VII, 31, St. Gotthard.

[38]The data about the number of the troops, which Smith exaggerates like all contemporary records, have to be reduced.

tion, had given him guards to accompany him when he rode a distance of seven miles to a hill in order to make contact with light signals. He signaled, "On Thursday night I will attack from east – you make a sortie and alarm." Ebersbaught signaled back that he would act accordingly. Khissl's concern that he would be conquered by the greater number of the Turkish forces was quieted by the guides who had observed from the mountain that the enemy was divided in two parts by a river and therefore could not assist each other.[39] The attack was still further strengthened by a pyrotechnical ruse conceived by Smith. "On the plain of Hysnaburg" he had attached to a long cord two or three thousand crackers filled with gunpowder and exploded them just before the attack. In this way he faked an attack of a great number of musketeers. While the Turks made deployments to meet the fake enemy, Khissl attacked their camp from the east. To this was added the sortie of the besieged so that the enemy was found in catastrophic confusion. The force which besieged from the side of Knausbruck was either killed or thrown into the river where many drowned or fled. The fort could be refilled with fresh troops, and eventually also the Turks who waited in vain for the attack of the fake troops proceeded to Kanizsa.

The question now arises of identifying the names and places mentioned by Smith. It would be simplest, as often happens, to identify Olumpagh, ("Olimpach" in the Purchas edition) with Oberlimbach (in Jugoslavian, Gornja Lendava; in Hungarian, Felso Lendva; today, Grad). This castle, imposing even today, formed a fortress in the Westhungarian hills near the Styrian border and was the mightiest fort between St. Gotthard and Olsznitz and also the center of the richest dominion in this area. From 1365 to 1684 it was in the possession of the noble family of Setschi (Szechy). Approximately the same distance south of the Raab and north of the Mur, it dominated the crossroads between the two valleys and thus had major strategic importance.

However, there is another Limbach in a far more important strategic position. Considering the somewhat wary forming of the name by Smith, this must also be considered, even more so because our sources, although allowing the possibility, do not suffice for localizing exactly the battle which Smith reports.

Unterlimbach (Hungarian, Also Lendva; today Jugoslavian, Lendava) partly rebuilt between 1695 and 1705, although only half as large as Oberlimbach, still retains the character of a well-fortified and mighty fortress. It seems that its reputation for being impregnable, originating in Turkish

[39]Should this represent also the otherwise known divisions between Turks and Tartars?

times, was fully justified. Its history reaches far into the Middle Ages, and since the thirteenth century it remained in the ownership of the Banffys.[40]

Smith seems to have written names as they sounded to his ear, interchanging Hungarian and German forms of names; thus the "O" might mean "ober" as well as "also" (under) even "o" for old. If he attempted to reorient himself by contemporary maps, these would have given him a very incorrectly drawn picture. Because whether we consider the maps of Larius (1561), Ortelius (1570), Cellarino (1578), Mercator (1589) or de Bry (1596), Oberlimbach is misplaced in all of them. All these maps push Oberlimbach close to Eisenburg (Vasvar); the later ones put it north of Kanizsa on the Raab. Unter or Niederlimbach (lower Limbach), on the other hand, is placed south of Kanizsa and thus is completely out of the neighborhood of the places Smith could have had in mind. According to the sixteenth-century maps which completely changed the strategic importance of both places, Smith's memory of a Limbach could only be linked with Oberlimbach.

In reality, however, there is quite another possibility. Viewed from Kanizsa, that is from the viewpoint of the Turks, Oberlimbach is far in the background, but Unterlimbach, in a narrow ravine pass, as the most important fortress between Kanizsa and Radkersburg, protected the way to the Mur valley as well as to the road leading north in the direction of Kermend (Eisenburg). It had thus an eminently strategic situation, and possession of it was of paramount importance to both sides, especially in view of the operations planned for the fall.

The plans of the Archduke Ferdinand and his allies to reconquer Kanizsa were surely well known to the Turks. It was therefore essential for them to harry and hamper this line of advance from the start. To gain Unterlimbach would thus be one of the most important objectives, as the march to and reenforcement of Kanizsa could be hindered most effectively from here. Besides such general considerations, certainly Smith's description of the events of the fight should also be of eminent importance in the question of identifying Olumpagh. It looks as if in many respects this description would fit the topography of Unterlimbach, for which our sources here at least are more suggestive.

This fortress adjoins low wooded hills only on the east; in all other directions there is a plain which extends eight to twelve kilometers to the foothills.

[40]The dates about Ober and Unter Limbach according to Karl Pisec, State Archive Maribor (Jugoslavia). He also records an unidentified attack on Unterlimbach in 1601. See also *Krajevni Leksikon Dravske Banovine* (Lubljana, 1937), pp. 304, 454.

This should be an ideal area for Smith's torch telegraphy, and also the Turkish camp could be observed to a greater depth from here. All this would be difficult in the hills of Oberlimbach, quite disregarding the fact that there would be no river at all which could exert any major impact on the fight. Near Unterlimbach on the other hand, is the Lendva River, which because of its swamps held many dangers and hindrances as we shall see in a war report of 1603.

Khissl ordered his relief attack to start from the east, the direction of Kanizsa, where the Turks would least expect it, and where it would therefore have a most surprising effect. It was equally clever tactically to make the fake attack with the fire cord on the plain to the north from the direction of Eisenburg, and thus occupy there a part of the besieging forces, because the Turks certainly had to figure on additional troops coming from Kermend or Eisenburg. One would not be forcing facts by taking the plain of Hysnaburg (Eisenburg, Vasvar) not precisely, but in the sense of the general direction, as is often done by strangers giving directions by indicating main places. The Turkish force which besieged the road from Knousbruck consequently would probably be in the west towards Radkersburg. The rivers Lendva and Mur closed off the south.

In Oberlimbach, however, the circumstances would not coincide so incontrovertibly. There is no plain nearby, the closest being so far away that the fake maneuver would not be able to work. Knousbruck would mean in a northerly direction, Hohenbruck in a southeasterly direction from Radkersburg. Finally for the argument in favor of Unterlimbach, a report of many attempts by the Turks in 1603 to take this place is worth considering.[41] It refers first of all to repeated, unsuccessful attacks against this fortress and would, through some parallel features which might repeat themselves in similar situations, quasi underline the reality of the locality of Smith's report.

On July 9, 1603, Banffy, lord and commander of Unterlimbach, got the message that a 6,000 man Turkish army, which was returning through the county of Vas to Kanizsa after a plundering raid against Styria, had decided to conquer first this which had so often withstood attack, in order to refurbish the glory of the Osman army, which had faded out through these defeats. They derided the 800 men and twelve cannons they knew to be in the fort.

Banffy sent messangers to the neighboring nobility for help, and they decided on flank and rear attacks together with a frontal attack with a faked

[41] János Balogh, *Nagy Kanizsa varos és vidékének hadtörtenelmi multja* (Nagy Kanizsa, 1897), p. 147. The military war history of Kanizsa and its region.

retreat by which the enemy should be lured into the narrows of the mouths of the Lendva and Kebele Rivers. Also a sortie of the commander of the fortress was contemplated, but it came to only partial fulfillment because of the delayed arrival of the auxiliary troops. After a hard fight with changing fortune, they succeeded in driving the Turks away from the place and forced them into the swamps of the Lendva region where a great number of them fell into the swamps and a great number fled away. The Hajdus had much booty and the numerous fallen were buried in a common grave by torchlight. The parallels to Smith are evident and make one think.

A similar attack was repeated on June 1604 when Turkish troops occupied and burned Limbach. Soldiers of the Count Zrinjski came from Graz to make a counter attack.[42]

As there are no direct proofs in any direction, we prefer to identify Olumpagh with Unterlimbach to an identification with Oberlimbach. Note should also be taken of the fact that "O" in Hungarian means "old." We have of course no proof that any of the Limbachs was called Old or O' Limbach, but in common speech it could have been used for the older Limbach.

To the historical, military, strategic, and topographic information and arguments a philologic one was added during our work by a highly valued Slovenian researcher. The most eminent expert on the history of the Slovenian upper Mur region (Prekmurje), at that time the West Hungarian region northeast of the Mur, Mr. Ivan Zelko, rector of the parish of Spitalic near Konjice in Slovenia, writes on the question of identification of Oberlimbach:

> Smith wrote the place names as they stuck in his memory! As he was surrounded there by Germans as well as Hungarians, it is no wonder that he uses Hungarian-German mixed forms of the place names.
>
> Olimpach is the phonetical form for *Al Limbach* (Unter Limbach) where the syllable Al is the short form for the Hungarian word *also* (under, lower). This short form is often used in Hungarian, e.g. *albiro* (underjudge), *alföld* (lowland).
>
> The sound "a" is a closed "a" which to non-Hungarians sounds like "o." In the mediaeval documents this short form is often written ol, e.g. in 1368 "possessio *olsal* for *also sal.*"[43]

Also for the place name Felsö Lendva (Oberlimbach) the shortened form of the adverb *felsö* (ober, upper) is known; e.g. in 1363 *Föl* for *Felsö:* castellanus Ful-

[42]Georg Krekwitz, *Totius regni Hungariae superioris et inferioris dissertatio* (Frankfurt-Nürnberg, 1688), p. 351; Fran Kovacic, *Gradivo za prekmursko zgodovino*, in *Casopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* (Maribor, 1926), p. 10.

[43]Dezsö Csánki, *Magyarorszag Törtenelmi Földrajza a Hunyadiak Korában* (Budapest, 1894), p. 790. The historical geography of Hungary in the time of the Hunyadys.

lyndvam, meaning Felso Lindva.[44] The place name *Olimpach* is thus identical with the place name *Unter Limbach.*

Other parallels can be found in the details described by Smith which underline the veracity of the experience and therefore cannot be ignored. Battle cries as a warning alarm for a common pincer attack were agreed upon between the commanders of the troops.[45] The coordination of attack and sortie were also provided for in a fake Turkish letter to the commander of Kanizsa, which was played into the hands of the Christian attackers in order to cheat them.[46] The secretary of the Archduke Ferdinand, Peter Casals, often mentioned the sounding of calls in the campaign of Kanizsa;[47] also "blind" calls from false places to divert the enemy were popular.[48] And once at night "something was intended with fireworks before Kanizsa."[49]

The anxiety and heightened nervousness before Turkish counteractions, which seized the troops marching in August against Kanizsa, are shown as Casals reports them to the mother and wife of Archduke Ferdinand, in accounts which as a kind of diary over and over let us see many phases of this venture.[50] This would all lead us to believe that such disturbing actions had already taken place.

Smith's practice of communicating news by torch telegraphy is the only case of its kind in the Styrian tradition. Simple warning fires, so-called Kreidfeuer,[51] had played an important role since the Defense Orders of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[52] The frontier situation of the extreme southeastern corner of the empire, through which it was constantly exposed to the danger of Turkish attacks, had led to a quickly functioning warning system through an ever improved net of shooting and fire stations. The news of enemy invasions had to be spread and the population and the military alarmed.[53]

Such acoustic and optical signals which man had widely used since prehistoric times could, however, transmit only previously agreed upon in-

[44]Csánki, *Magyarorszag Törtenelmi Földrajza*, p. 716.

[45]Wahrhafftige Newe Zeitung von der König. Stadt und Vestung Stuhlweissenburg, 20 September, 1601. Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, München. 4° Diss. 1417/23.

[46]Albrecht Stauffer, "Die Belagerung von Kanizsa durch die christlichen Truppen im Jahre 1601," in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, Bd. 7, p. 302.

[47]Stauffer, "Die Belagerung von Kanizsa," *Mitteilungen*, Bd. 7, p. 302.

[48]Stauffer, "Die Belagerung von Kanizsa," *Mitteilungen*, Bd. 7, p. 305.

[49]Stauffer, "Die Belagerung von Kanizsa," *Mitteilungen*, Bd. 7, p. 311.

[50]Stauffer, "Die Belagerung von Kanizsa," *Mitteilungen*, Bd. 7, p. 265 ff.

[51]Mittelhochdeutsch kride, krie (noise, screaming, signals). Compare the related English "cry."

[52]B. Sutter, *Styria, Country, People and Work* (Graz, 1956). A map of the Cryfire system, p. 126.

[53]J. von Zahn, Kneidfeuer. In Styriaca.

formation. In order for the *Kreidenschuss und Feueranordnungen* of August 13 and November 18, 1596, to be transmitted, the number and order of the single signals were fixed, giving exact prescriptions as to the number and methods of the signals. Two shots said that the enemy was nearing the country and that the population should take everything they did not need for everyday use into the next fortress, city, or other secure place. Three shots notified of the direct march of the enemy. Now the rest of their belongings should be brought into security. At the same time those who were called to military service had to convene at the gathering places. Four alarm shots and the fire stations illumined on the mountains said that the enemy had invaded the country and that the population should flee into fortified places.

Such an alarm system could function quickly but could communicate only prearranged orders and measures and no unforeseen message could be transmitted. Smith's system on the other hand gave the possibility of sending any news whatsoever to whoever had the key.

In principle such a refined communications system was not new, and Smith could already have learned about it at school.[54] Although there was a literature on torch telegraphy extending from the second half of the fifth century B.C., well into the sixteenth century and later, it is most likely, as Bradford Smith[55] suggests, that John Smith's system was based on the directions of William Bourne whose *Inventions or Devises, Very necessary for all Generalles and Captaines or Leaders of men, as well by sea as by Land* had been published in London in 1578, and to whom Smith refers in his bibliographical notes on seamanship.

By the system Smith used, messages can be clearly and quickly transmitted. The alphabet is divided into two parts; the letters from A to L are signaled with one torch, those from M to Z with two torches. The messages, which should be formulated as briefly as possible, are given by lifting or hiding one or two torches in the order number of the letter in the alphabet. After a letter is transmitted, the torch should stay visible until the receiver has written down the letter and has on his part signaled this by torch. The end of a word is marked by three torches.

It was very easy to try practically the procedure Smith describes. A scout troop from Graz did this with enthusiasm and understanding. Unfortunately because of the political situation in 1956, this could not be done at either of the Limbachs. The first experiment over fourteen kilometers

[54]Bradford Smith, *Captain John Smith*, p. 46.
[55]Bradford Smith, *Captain John Smith*, p. 46.

from mountain to mountain showed that this distance was too great for perfect telegraphy. One saw the lights but the exact signals could not be identified. From a distance of seven kilometers, however, the experiment succeeded perfectly. The groups knew only the key, but not the content of the message to be sent. Three torch bearers stood behind breast-high bushes and gave, singly, by two's, and by three's, the ordered signals. In eleven minutes Smith's message was transmitted and flawlessly understood.

Dr. Laura Polanyi Striker suggests that the fact that Smith made his way from Graz to a Hungarian contingent and to Stuhlweissenburg and not to Kanizsa was influenced by the anti-Protestant trends which determined the politics of Archduke Ferdinand, and she thus takes Smith's way of acting in accordance with this historical situation as direct proof that Smith really was exposed to the dominating forces of the period. It should not be too easy to prove this interpretation conclusively, as another possible component, Smith's own decision would not be taken into account. However, it is a fact that the programmatic anti-Protestant attitude and politics of the Archduke Ferdinand, to which Dr. Striker alludes in broad terms, are also perceivable and effective in many details when local and special circumstances and relationships are brought to focus.

The basic motive of all personal political decisions of Archduke Ferdinand was the Catholic Credo. The Archduke, who had recently come from the Jesuit college of Ingolstadt, had decided to make his country the center of the Counter Reformation and wanted, as he expressed it in his own words, "rather to make a desert of his country than to rule over heretics." Without exception all Protestants were banned from court service, military service, and all leading positions in administration, in crafts, economics, science – in short in all fields of public and private life. The summer of 1600 became the "high point of the measures of the government against the Protestants."[56] All inhabitants with the exception of the still influential members of the mainly Protestant high aristocracy and gentry were summoned before the Reform Commission and those who did not acknowledge the Catholic Credo had to pay "the 10th penny" (ten percent) and leave the country.

Not even acute military necessities could deter the Archduke in his unshakeable zeal. Where a Protestant could be replaced by a Catholic, he was dismissed if he would not change his religion. The delegates of the Inneraustrian provinces found it necessary to remind the Emperor in a memo-

[56]Johann Loserth, "Akten und Korrespondenzen zur Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Innerösterreich unter Karl II und Ferdinand II, 1578-1637," in *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, Bd. 60, part IX.

randum that "Although just now in the imminent danger of the Turkish threat, native experts should be handling the war and civil affairs, most specialists such as physicians, army surgeons, and craftsmen of the artillery and munitions were banished."[57] Archduke Ferdinand, persisting uncompromisingly in his religious and political aims, which in the meantime were also proving the power of the approaching absolutism, shunned concessions even if they would have been in the interest of the military situation and of great advantage to it. This also was explained by his deep distrust of Protestants. He believed that he could expect loyalty and trustworthiness only from Catholics. It is characteristic that the loss of Kanizsa, which after hopeless resistance had capitulated with free withdrawal of the garrison, on October 20, 1600, was regarded as a treacherous revenge of the Protestant commander of the fort, Georg Paradeiser, who would have intentionally put Ferdinand in danger by surrendering this important fort and who subsequently was condemned by a military court to pay with his head for a suspicion which was completely unjustified.[58]

We must also take into consideration that such trends of local political significance had as a background the world-wide political situation. In it the danger of possible common action by the Protestants and the Mohammedans, as well as the mutual opposition of France, England, and Turks to the Catholic Habsburgs and Spain, can be traced.[59] Smith definitely came into an atmosphere in which he could be suspect for his politics as well as for his religion. It was hardly to be expected that special opportunities would be offered to him where even high qualifications would not have sufficed to recommend him in the inimical atmosphere of the Archduke's court.

If he nevertheless professed to have been assigned by the Inspector General of Ordnance Khissl this still fits our knowledge about this general. Although Khissl attained his post as a Catholic, he seems to have been a man with a realistic and sane outlook to whom in the selection of his subordinates their professional qualifications were decisive. He had tacitly used Protestant master-gunners at the siege of Kanizsa and gave them good reports on their services, only somewhat later, when they were applying for posts in 1602, did he refer to their heretical religion.[60] A similar exception to the general

[57]Reformationsakten, Chronologische Reihe, 1601, Sch. 24; Loserth, "Akten und Korrespondenzen," *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, Bd. 60, p. 147. Punkt 16.

[58]Loserth, "Akten und Korrespondenzen," *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, Bd. 60, Nr. 1186; Friedrich Emanuel von Hurter, *Geschichte Kaiser Ferdinands II* (Schaffhausen, 1850-1855), Bd. IV, p. 359 and Bd. V, p. 398.

[59]A. H. Löbl, Zur Geschichte des Türkenkrieges von 1593-1606. I. Vorgeschichte. Prager Studien Heft VI. 1899, p. 113 f.

[60]Hofkammer, 1602, February, Nr. 3. StLA.

rule was the case of Hanns Thaller, who although a Protestant enjoyed the patronage of the Archduke Ferdinand because of his useful invention which promised great results. The Archduke ordered "that in case that through the use of his invention and God's help" the main fortress Kanizsa would be retrieved, 1,000 gulden should be paid to him," and that if "he would in using his invention perish before the enemy, but the invention will have happily contributed to the conquering of Kanizsa," his widow should get a yearly provision.[61] However, when he applied in 1602 for the Court Munition Guard post, the Archduke requested "that he should refrain from his disgusting and erroneous views in matters of religion and should turn to the only beatifying Roman Catholic religion and profess this." Thaller answered this with the abandonment of his application.[62] Besides the Archduke's doctrinaire attitude and Khissl's more practical behaviour there was still a third element in this local and historical sphere which might have influenced Smith.

This third force was the Styrian Estates who behaved politically quite loyally but were as to their religion still very strongly rooted in Protestantism. The Archduke worked unswervingly and unflinchingly, if not always openly, on undermining their position, thus making the nobility look for support in the neighboring countries. The mutual relationship which prevailed between the Styrian nobility and the neighboring Hungarians: the Lobkowitz, Batthyani, Nadasdy, Erdoedy, Popl and Szechy, and Zriny (Serin) among the Croatians, increased with the persecution of the Protestants in Inneraustria and resulted in the fact that not a few ministers, commoners, peasants, and lastly noble families requested Hungarian hospitality.[63] This relationship is expressed clearly in the petition of the delegates to the Archduke asking him to cancel his order of April 23, 1598, stopping Protestant church and school practices. They even considered "the question of the emigration of the whole Protestant nobility to Hungary."[64]

Also the troops on the Wend-Croatian border were still permeated with Protestants for whom Styrian Estates maintained chaplains. Warasdin, Olsznitz, and Petanitza were considered by the Estates as the mainstays of the oppressed church. In Karl von Herbersdorf they delegated an inspector,

[61]Hofkammer, 1601, Juni, Nr. 28; Hofkammerregistraturbuch, 1601, fol. 111, 331, 342. StLa.
[62]Hofkammer, 1602, Juni, Nr. 11 und Juli, Nr. 34. StLa.
[63]Johann Loserth, *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, Bd. 60, p. CXIX f; Erich Winkelmann, "Zur Geschichte des Luthertums im untersteirischen Mur und Draugebiet," in *Jahrbuch f.d. Geschichte des Protestantismus im ehemaligen und neuen Österreich* 57.Jg., 1936, p. 101 ff.
[64]Johann Loserth, "Zu den Quellen zur Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Innerösterreich: Die Protokolle der Land und Hofrechte aus den Jahren 1583-1601," in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, Vol. 34 (1913), p. 86.

and the exiled ministers gathered hoping to be soon readmitted to Styria. However, the constantly growing influence in Hungarian territory of the Counter Reformation and the insecurity of the frontier region after the loss of Kanizsa made all these positions and hopes futile.[65]

Some known facts also show the religious background and political relationships in Unterlimbach at the turn of the seventeenth century. The relationship between Unterlimbach and Graz was not only founded on the common actions against the Turks, but on very close relationship between the Bánffy's, the Lords of Unterlimbach, with high personalities and competent officers in Graz.[66]

It would, therefore, be conceivable that Smith's course was influenced by the strong Protestant relationship between the Styrian Estates and the Hungarian frontier nobility from whom they might request needed help which they could not expect in the Archduke's surroundings.

However, as Smith appears on the Hungarian war scene as a volunteer, a possible genuine personal decision should not be entirely disregarded. He had come with the intention of serving under Philipp Emanuel de Lothringen, Duke de Mercoeur, following many noble youths and adventurers, mainly from the Dutch war school of Alexander de Parma and Maurice of Orania, who "with their masterly fine maneuvers and with their highly developed art of warbuilding and besieging were planting their disciples on the Hungarian plains" and who came from all lands "to practice in the conduct of war and in fighting with the Turks, who heretofore had been so superior."[67] Mercoeur was called in the fall of 1600 from the Low Countries to take over the High Command of the Imperial troops.

The original plan for 1601 had considered gathering all troops, Imperial as well as auxiliary, in a common attack on Stuhlweissenburg or Ofen (Buda) and making a common venture of regaining Kanizsa only after having taken Stuhlweissenburg. However, as Cardinal Aldobrandini, the commander of the Papal armies declined to take part in any venture other than the attack on Kanizsa, for which exclusive purpose the Italian troops were assigned, the plan had to be changed and two armies had to be put into action. Archduke Ferdinand was to besiege Kanizsa with the troops of Inneraustria and the foreign auxiliaries; his command was only nominal, the real commanders being the Duke Vincent de Mantua, Don Giovanni de Medici, and Francis Aldobrandini with the Munitions Chief Orpheus

[65]Winkelmann, "Zur Geschichte des Luthertums," Jahrbuch, p. 101.
[66]Sándor Payr, *A dunántuli evangelikus egyhuz-kerület története* (Sopron, 1924), p. 404.
[67]A. H. Löbl, Zur Geschichte des Türkenkrieges von 1593-1606. I. Vorgeschichte, p. 43.

Gallion and the Chief Quartermaster Carl Formentin. The Duke de Mercoeur on the other hand, was to attack Stuhlweissenburg with the Imperial army.[68]

If Smith was set from the start on joining Mercoeur his course would lead him logically to Stuhlweissenburg. It would be quite possible that he went this way from his own choice or was led there by others according to his wish. It would only testify to his keen observation and correct military instinct that he sought the glorious mastership of Mercoeur and not the command of the Italian leaders who, because of their utter lack of understanding of warfare and the art of siege, made a complete failure of the undertaking against Kanizsa,[69] whilst the brilliant and daring conquest of Stuhlweissenburg must be recognized by foe and friend.

With all the possibility of Styrian and Archducal auxiliary action, it is still unrecorded why the liberation of Olumpagh was under the command of the Inneraustrian Chief of Artillery Khissl. It might be that through some unforeseen difficulties during an inspection of the West Hungarian fortresses and munitions situation Khissl became involved in this operation.

There is, however, a letter of Georg Setschi from Oberlimbach which shows that Khissl had also to answer requests for help coming from this region. Setschi wrote on May 5, 1602, that at his last stay in Graz, Khissl had asked him to give him all the news of his country, and by then, he had to relate the destruction of wide tracts of land by the Turks as far as Olsznitz. One had to be prepared for them to proceed still further. Khissl should, therefore, have used his influence with the Duke in order that he would provide appropriate defense of this territory. His intervention in 1601[70] may have came in the same way.

The reception in Kermend after the Olumpagh success again fits incontestably into a certain military predominance of this place which otherwise would not have been important enough for Smith to have referred to it without personal experience.

Kermend forms a center between the forts in the Kanizsa region, with the somewhat more northerly situated Scharwar and flanked in the Raab line by the somewhat weaker St. Gotthard. Kermend's rank as the military strong point of the section between the rivers Raab and Mur is often testified to. Already the documents relating to the frontier rides in March 1601 show that the Count Batthyani attached great weight to putting here

[68]Alfons Huber, *Geschichte Österreichs* (Gotha, 1892), IV, 407.
[69]Stauffer, "Die Belagerung von Kanizsa," *Mitteilungen*, p. 269.
[70]Militaria, 1602, Akt ddo, 1602, V. 5, Arx superior Lyndva. StLA.

the center of the system of fortresses to be erected in the Kanizsa area. Although this was not uncontradicted in view of the distance from Kanizsa, it was stressed that its fortification would be of great value, and that it could be an advantageous place for reinforcements if Kanizsa could be regained.[71]

Also in 1602-1603 when the Turkish advance to the west became again more threatening, according to the consent of the Imperial frontier administration to contribute military forces to Styria in case of Turkish attack, special troops from the West Hungarian military camps were transferred there from Kermend and first of all stationed in Olsznitz.[72]

The effort to find Styrian source material to test Henry Volda, under whose command Smith says he took up service in Kermend, did not have very good prospects as Volda undoubtedly was in the Hungarian orbit and had hardly any direct relationship with Styrian offices. However, there seem to be some traces of his name in the literature.[73] In view of this it is significant that in the documents of 1601 about the frontier marches it is stated that Batthyáni troops were at that time quartered in Kermend.[74] The Batthyánis were lords of the Manor of Felsö- and Also-Eor (Ober- and Unter-wart, near Kermend); documents show a Folta family among the frontier knightly guard. The Emperor Rudolph's bill of enfeoffment of February 18, 1582, shows sixty-five such military frontier families of lower nobility which were invested with this place and includes the name of Thomas Folta.[75] It would not be unlikely that some one of his family was stationed in Kermend in the West Hungarian war territory. (Note also that Smith writes that his officer had been for twenty years in the Emperor's service in 1602). Smith also stresses the Transylvanian origin of his Henry Volda. It is remarkable that the literature of these settlers also mentions that a great number of these frontier guards according to their language and habits were of Transylvanian origin.

However, it is hardly justifiable to make a definite identification without Hungarian archival material. With the same infallibility which led Smith in Graz to the Chief of Artillery Hanns Jacob Khissl, which was opportune for him, at the conquest of Stuhlweissenburg, where he proceeded from Kermend, he joined the "Earl von Sultz," again the logical man: the Chief

[71]Kriegsarchiv Wien, 1601, März, Nr. 179, Akt ddo., 1601, IV, 14, Pressburg.

[72]Landschaftliches Archiv Sch. 690, fol. 82 ff; Militaria 1602, 1603 and 1604. StLA. As early as 1604 Egervar replaces Kermend, which gradually loses its focal point on the Raab-Zala line.

[73]*Magyarorszag vármegyei és városai*, Bd. Vasvármegye (Budapest, 1898), p. 547. Edited by János Sziklay and Dr. Samu Borovszky.

[74]Kriegsarchiv Wien, 1601, März, Nr. 179, Akt ddo. 1601, IV, 14, Pressburg.

[75]Copied in the gräfl. Batthyánischem Burgarchiv Güssing, Ladula XV, Fasz. 5, Stuck 1. The archive of Oberwart was burned in 1945.

of Artillery in the Imperial Army, Karl Ludwig Count of Sultz, to whom in Komarom Smith had already given convincing proof of his pyrotechnical abilities. Komarom on the Danube was the place of assembly of the greatest part of the army marching against Stuhlweissenburg, and surely of the ordnance, which were generally transported on waterways, while in nearby Raab (Györ) and Gran (Esztergom) only smaller units were stationed.[76]

With this the sphere in which Styrian sources could be expected to contribute to the critique of the *True Travels* is already far overstepped.

If one assembles the rich, manifold details which could be reached here into a conclusive statement, there is one thing they show indisputably: the world in which John Smith professes to have stood on his own is not invented. It is in every way a thoroughly historical world and its personalities and happenings are to be found more or less clearly in the Styrian sources. This and the fact of his historically unobjectionable way of acting justify the conclusion that he actually moved in this world.

The rest are his own exploits. The hope of hearing them vouched for by others was not fulfilled. Should they be self-invented brilliance which he would have superimposed on his simpler less glamorous way through this space and time? Are they additions with which the imagination and the wish to gain prevalence of an attentive spectator, stimulated by the dangerous, inciting atmosphere of war exaggerated the impressions, impulses, and possibilities to one's own performed feats?

The answer to these questions, if the sources remain silent forever, depends on the character of the man. Single, unverified war accounts are nothing unusual. They may be very often found in the "Kundschaften" i.e., reports and "Zeitungen" newspapers which can be found in our archives, and are reporting on individual leaders of troops. Nobody would think of doubting their veracity even if there were no traces about them elsewhere, and when if a certain complaisancy of the reporter would have to be taken into consideration.

The accomplishments of the little man do not enter history. What eventually becomes history is already a blend of a thousand individual fates in which the fate of the individual practically disappears. However, if personal fate lights up suddenly with its own color and liveliness in the cold and calm beam of history, it easily looks out of place and suspicious, a feature of imagination rather than that of life. Yet it was the life and blood of truth.

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[76]G. Heile, Der Feldzug gegen die Türken und die Eroberung Stuhlweissenburgs 1601. Diss. Rostock, 1901), p. 10 f.

GENEALOGY

Amendments to
RELIQUES OF THE RIVES

by J. Rives Childs*

Twenty-eight years ago I published *Reliques of the Rives* (Lynchburg, 1929) and since that time certain corrections and additions have been made available by correspondents or as the result of subsequent research. As in all probability the original work will never be reprinted and as it had a fairly wide distribution, the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* has offered me the hospitality of its pages to note the emendations which I would now make in my work if a new edition were ever issued.

When the book was written I offered the conjecture that William Rives was the emigrant ancestor. I have recently had occasion to question this assumption. The basis for the birth of William to Timothy Ryves and his wife of Oxford (pp. 74-75) was the slightest, and his presence in Surry County, Virginia, was made evident only as a tithable in 1684 and 1695. Mr. Laurence B. Gardiner, of Memphis, has recently put me on what I believe is a surer track. He has brought my attention to the discovery of a Charles City County Order Book for 1687-1695 where, on page 421, there is found: "Capt. Henry Batte ordered to assign and swear appraisers of Estate of Timothy Rieve" (the French pronunciation of the name apparently still persisting). I suggest now the likelihood that this Timothy "Rieve" or Rives was the emigrant ancestor and that he was identical with 206. Timothy Ryves, born 1625, son of Timothy and Mary Ryves of Oxford (p. 51), and that he was the father of George, Robert, John, and Timothy Rives, of Virginia. The William Rives living in Surry in 1684 and 1695 may well have been another son of this Timothy. At any rate I advance the hypothesis as one for future investigators to bear carefully in mind.

Page 77: 2. George[2] Rives was a landowner in Prince George County, Virginia, in 1714. His daughter Mary, who married Colonel William

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Eaton, had also a daughter, Mary Eaton, who married Robert Jones (1718-1766) who became Attorney General of North Carolina. As there were a number of Rives's connections in this Jones line, it is well to signal them here. Robert Jones, Sr., born November 1694, died February 14, 1775, married 1st and had: Robert[2], born 1718, died 1766, married 1st Sarah Cobb and had: Willie[3], died June 15, 1801; Allen[3], born December 24, 1739, died November 15, 1807, married 1st Mary Haynes, 2nd Rebecca Edwards, 3rd Mary Eaton (Allen's daughter Sarah married William R. Davie, Governor of North Carolina); Martha[3], born November 1, 1743, married Dr. Thomas Gilchrist; Charlotte[3], born February 17, 1745, died April 3, 1748; Robert[3], born 1749, died 1749. Robert[2] Jones married 2nd Mary Eaton (daughter of William and Mary Rives Eaton) and had Elizabeth[3] married August 10, 1781, Benjamin Williams, Governor of North Carolina. By his second wife Robert[1] Jones had at least: John[2], said to have married 2544. Judith[4] Rives, and died in Halifax County, North Carolina, 1792-1794; and Nathaniel[2], of Northampton County, North Carolina, said to have married 2548. Frances[4] Rives, and to have died 1783 (see also pp. 296-297).

Page 122: Caroline May Caffey, married November 21, 1875; Fannie May Dudley, married November 21, 1899.

Page 134: Hannah Rives, widow of Simon[5] Rives, married 2nd Lewis Dupree. In her will dated 1806 and probated in 1816 in Lexington District, South Carolina, she mentions her son Simon Rives and her grandchildren Lewis Dupree, Jessie, Timothy, and Mary Ann. These last were presumably the children of Reed and Mary (Rives) Dupree.

Page 154: 557. *son*[5] was presumably the William Rives whose funeral sermon was preached on November 26, 1826, at the home of Green Rives, who was evidently his son and not his brother as I had mistakenly conjectured (see also p. 272).

Page 157: Record has been sent me of three brothers and a sister who were almost certainly grandchildren of 555. Thomas Henry[5] Rives either through 565. John[6] or 566. Reuben[6] Rives. They were: Reuben, William, Phoeba, and Thomas. This last, born January 1, 1799, died July 17, 1875, married 1st Mary L. Rhine, born January 3, 1799, died February 22, 1859, and had: David, Catherine, Nathan, Sarah, Rebecca, Mary, James Madison (born November 10, 1836, died October 31, 1902, married Mary Jane Dennison, 1848-1908), George Washington, and T. J., died May 5, 1864, as sergeant in Confederate States Army. Thomas married 2nd Polly Carroll

and had: Belle, Jennie, Eva, William, Thomas, Matilda, and Josephine. Thomas changed his name to Reeves.

Page 225: 5. John Thweatt, died 1758/9 in Prince George County, had also Mary. 17. James Thweatt had also Peterson. 18. Elizabeth Thweatt married ..... Birchett. 20. Martha Thweatt married ..... Goodwyn and had Amy and Thomas.

Pages 255-256: Martha Peterson Hardaway, born 1753. She was descended from Thomas Hardaway who married Jane (Drewry or Stith?). Of the sons of Thomas Hardaway, Thomas married December 1737 Agnes Thweatt who was probably descended from James Thweatt of Prince George County who married Ann Peterson.

Page 261: Read "Julian T. Feild" instead of "Field."

Page 269: 1513. Benjamin[6] Rives may have married twice. He is believed to have been the father of: William; Mary Addie; Martha Peterson, born 1826, died 1868, who married April 11, 1843, George Mackey in Lincoln County, Tennessee; and Fannie.

Page 271: Read "557. William[5] Rives."

Page 272: Eliminate 1676. William[6] Rives.

Page 290: William Massey, born 1743, died 1841, removed with his wife Elizabeth Rives to Lancaster County, South Carolina. He was a member of the 2nd Provincial Congress of South Carolina in 1775 and a lieutenant colonel in the Revolutionary War. He had at least one child, Henry, born 1763, died 1836.

Pages 324-327: The following nephews and nieces of Charlotte Rives were perhaps the issue of 1931. William[5] Rives, born 1755: Thomas, born February 11, 1784; John, born January 17, 1786; Betsey, born August 18, 1791; and Dotinda, born November 1, 1798. 1933. Burwell[5] Rives had a son, George, born January 2, 1799. 1935. George[5] Rives had a son, William J., born March 9, 1794. All of these probably changed their name to Reeves.

Page 352: James Quarles was son of Colonel John Quarles, a Revolutionary soldier of Bedford County, Virginia, who died in Campbell County in 1790. James Quarles married 1st Mary, daughter of David Walker. James and Elizabeth (Rives) Quarles had issue: Samuel Overton Quarles who married in 1822 in Wilson County, Tennessee, Parthenia Maria Hynds. James Quarles died in Wilson County, Tennessee, in 1817 where his will was proved.

Page 430: Nathaniel Tatum, born 1604, emigrated to Virginia in the *George* in 1619, and was living at the Neck of Land, Sherley Hundred,

Charles City County, Virginia, on January 24, 1624 (John Camden Hotten, *The Original Lists of Persons of Quality* [New York, 1873]). He died after January 27, 1675, when he deeded land in Henrico County to his grandson Nathaniel.

Page 434: 2544. Judith[4] Rives is said to have married John Jones. 2548. Frances[4] Rives and Nathaniel Jones had issue: Robert, born August 24, 1762; George, born January 28, 1765; Allen; Tamerlane; Elizabeth; and Willie, born December 27, 1775.

Page 436: John Scott of Weyanoke Parish, Charles City County, patented land on Warwick Swamp in 1690. He patented 1,700 acres in Surry County with Captain Thomas Harrison, 500 of which were sold in 1701. In his will he names his wife Bathia, who died 1724/5, and his son-in-law, Christopher Tatum. His son John Scott married Amy _____ and died about 1722.

Mr. Henry Gee is referred to in the Henrico County tax list for 1679. He married 1st Mary _____, 2nd (before 1714) Elizabeth, daughter of Gilbert Elam. Their son was probably Gilbert Gee whose will was proved in Henrico County in 1734. The will of Mary (Chappell) Gee was probated in Prince George County in 1788. She mentions her children: Charles Gee, John Gee, Henry Gee, Boyce Powell, Sarah Rives, Elizabeth Potts, Mary Gee, Rebecca Parham, and directs that her property be divided amongst all her children without naming them. Mr. W. J. Fletcher, of Chattanooga, thinks with good reason that there was an eldest son, James Gee (born 1741, died 1804, at Fayetteville, Northampton County, North Carolina, married Mary Walker and had at least: Charles and Henry). John Gee, born 1745, seems to have lived at Fayetteville from 1760 to about 1780. James Gee transferred land to Charles Gee in 1782 at Fayetteville. Chappell Gee was a commissary in the Revolutionary War from Fayetteville. In the Gee family cemetery at Fayetteville is to be found the tomb of Sarah Gee, born 1794.

Page 441: Colonel George Rives married June 9, 1762, in Sussex County, Virginia, Sarah, born 1740, daughter of Thomas Eldridge, of Surry County, and his wife Judith, daughter of Richard Kennon.

Page 443: Pamela[5] Rives who married Thomas Lewis may have had also John Lewis, of Chillicothe, Ohio, who had a son, Rives Lewis, of Indiana, father of Sylvester Lewis.

Page 459: 2678. Thomas Rivers Rives was killed with Fannin in the Goliad massacre on March 27, 1836.

Page 471: 2734a. Sarah[8] Chalmers, born July 3, 1860, died November 26, 1906, in Lynchburg, Virginia.

Page 483: The descendants given of Christopher[5] Rives are not correct. He died about 1818 and his widow, Mary, moved to Fayette County, Tennessee, in 1833 where she died about 1837. Issue of Christopher[5] and Mary (Rivers) Rives: 2841a. Dr. William[6]; 2841b. George[6], died young; 2841c. Christopher[6], "lived to maturity"; 2841d. Mary[6], born November 16, 1810, died 1871 in Texas, married February 10, 1835, in Fayette County, Tennessee, Major Thomas Rutherford; 2841e. Elizabeth[6], married _____ Tucker and lived in Tennessee; 2841f. Lucy Ann[6], born September 1815, died May 12, 1896, in Memphis, Tennessee, married November 9, 1832, Charles Hamlin Whitmore, born 1813 in Dinwiddie County, Virginia, died December 12, 1863 in Memphis. Dr. William[6] Rives, lived in Arkansas, married November 27, 1830, Dionysia R. Wells and had: 2841g. Justin[7], born 1831, married Nannie Rivers, and d.s.p.; 2841h. daughter[7], born 1833, died young. Dr. William[6] Rives married 2nd many years later and had: 2841i. William[7], born about 1855, moved to Texas.

2842. Judge George Washington[6] Rives whom I identified mistakenly as a son of Christopher[5] Rives was probably the son of 1510. Robert[6] Rives who is known to have removed to Tennessee and to have left issue.

Page 497: Charles and Judith (Kennon) Binns had issue: 8. Charles[5], born about 1743; 9. Elizabeth[5], born May 11, 1740, died January 28, 1803, married July 27, 1758, Colonel John Jones, born February 14, 1735, died January 4, 1793, and had, in addition to Binns Jones, Captain John Jones, born March 30, 1764, died 1844/5; 10. Lucy[5], born about 1746, died December 13, 1773 (her daughter Lucy Binns Cargill, born December 18, 1768, died 1812/13, married June 6, 1787, her first cousin, John Jones).

Page 498: Thomas[1] Eldridge served for five days as Clerk of the House of Burgesses in 1718. 6. Martha[2] Eldridge married in 1748 John Harris, died 1770/1, and had: Pamela, born June 11, 1749; Richard; Mary; Ann Kennon, born April 6, 1758; Kennon; and Eldridge, born May 19, 1764. Thomas[1] and Judith (Kennon) Eldridge had also Sarah, born May 14, 1740, after her father's will had been drawn, who married in 1762 Colonel George Rives. Thomas[2] and Martha (Bolling) Eldridge had: Thomas[3] married Winifred Jones; Jane[3]; John[3], born 1741; Mary[3], born March 11, 1743, married Thomas Branch; Judith[3], born March 11, 1743, married James Ferguson; Rolfe[3], born 1744; and Martha[3], born 1749. By his second marriage with Elizabeth Jones, Thomas[2] Eldridge had: Aristotle[3],

born October 30, 1751; Howell[3], born March 11, 1753, died 1815; and Sarah[3], born 1754/5, married in 1771 Thomas Edmunds.

Page 510: "Four Mile Tree" dates from 1655.

Page 512: Colonel Benjamin Harrison was a member of the Virginia Colonial Council, 1698-1702, and attorney general, 1697-1702.

Page 523: Jeremiah Early served in the French and Indian Wars and was a justice of the peace of Augusta County, Virginia.

Page 524: Richard Perrott is believed to have emigrated to Middlesex from the Barbadoes. John Early of York and Middlesex may have been a son of John Earle whose will dated 1660/1 was probated in Northumberland County, Virginia, mentioning wife Elizabeth, daughter Mary, and sons Samuel and John. Margaret Loyall who married in 1682 John Early was presumably the daughter of William Loyall "Planter" of Christ Church, Middlesex County, and his wife Mary. Thomas[2] Leftwich is said to have married at least twice and perhaps three times: 1st Dorothy _____; 2nd, about 1706, Mary North; 3rd Sarah Ann _____. He died about 1730. A Sarah Ann Leftwich, described as a widow of Thomas Leftwich, married about 1730 in Caroline County, William Herndon and was living as late as 1765 in Caroline. She died at the home of her son Edward Herndon.

Page 528: Henry Brown, of Bedford County, married in 1757 Alice Beard, daughter of William Beard, of Belfast, Ireland, and his wife, née Carr. William Beard was son of David, and grandson of William (for the Browns of Bedford, see Armistead M. Pritchard, *Mead Relations*, Staunton, 1933). William Hancock (son of Simon, of Bedford County) was born October 20, 1749, died February 22, 1837, married 1st February 11, 1771, Ann Hill in Chesterfield County and 2nd Mary Eliza Fisher Emmerson. Children by first marriage: Winifred, born December 10, 1772; Simon, born August 10, 1774; John, born May 6, 1776; Jane, born February 28, 1778; James, born June 3, 1780; William, born January 1, 1782; Elizabeth, born July 22, 1784; Sarah, born November 1, 1786; Robert, born September 4, 1789; Hiram, born November 22, 1791; Hannah, born December 17, 1795; Edmond, born May 25, 1798; and Nancy, born September 10, 1800. Issue by second marriage: John Perry, born March 28, 1815; Oliver Hazard, born June 23, 1819; Nancy Emmerson, born February 14, 1822. On August 16, 1832, William Hancock made an affidavit recorded in Adair County, Kentucky, in which he stated that "he entered the service of the U. S. in Feb. 1780 under Captain John Trigg who was commanded by Gen. Mughlinsburgh, Col. Parker, and Major Delcoman, and marched

to Dismal Swamp" where he received his discharge and returned to his home in Bedford County, Virginia. "Four or five weeks after his return from Dismal Swamp he received orders from Col. Lynch of Bedford co. Va., that if he with others would take Tories and deserters and bring them to trial he would be clear of any other service." He adds that he was so engaged from May 1780 until the surrender of Cornwallis in October 1781.

Jane Flournoy was born 1726 and died 1806. She had a brother, Josiah, born September 3, 1741. According to an account of the Flournoy family which I have seen in French, Jacques Flournoy was living in 1509 at Flournoy near Vassy. His son or nephew, N. Flournoy had: Nicholas, Claude, and Laurent, the Huguenot.

Page 538: Fifth line: read "Gabriel D. Childs."

Page 540: Captain William Childs may have had issue: Rebecca, Jane, Margaret, and William. 23. Benjamin Childs married before 1828. Reverend John and Margaret (Adams) Childs had also Mary T. who married John R. Wren.

Page 546: Fourth and seventh lines: read 1919 for 1918.

Page 547: Elizabeth Early Rives, born June 24, 1849.

Page 552: 2. William[2] Shands married Priscilla Moss, daughter of William. In addition to issue given they had Martha married _____ Canley, and Priscilla married John Shands. This John was a son of 3. John[2] Shands and appears to have moved to Spartanburg, South Carolina, before 1785 where he was a Methodist exhorter, taught school, and farmed near Tyger River. John[3] Shands married 2nd Rebecca Gee and had by her: Anthony, died June 11, 1834 (married 1st Catherine Wilson and had: Harvey, born 1800; Theron, born August 20, 1802, died October 17, 1877, married Rhoda Pettit); Rebecca. He married 3rd Margaret Castleberry and had: William, Jesse, Joel, Gideon, Abraham, Dorcas, and Sarah. 16. John[4] Shands married in February 1802 Mary Eppes.

Page 618: Edward Hickson emigrated from Ireland to Richmond, Virginia, in 1814.

Page 619: Benjamin Rives Hickson died in Uvalde, Texas.

Page 632: Judith (Rives) Gee and her husband John probably moved to South Carolina.

Page 634: General William Briggs Shands, born February 7, 1820, died 1906, married September 13, 1860, Letitia Christian Tyler, born April 27, 1844, died January 23, 1863, granddaughter of President John Tyler.

Page 637: Their son William Shands, born September 5, 1861, died March 15, 1922, married 1st Nancy Pretlow (no issue); 2nd Annie Byrum Ridley, daughter of William and Betty Ridley, and had: William Ridley, Letitia Christian, and Bessie Thomas.

Page 640: Joseph K. Barnes was Surgeon General, U.S.A. Adelaide Belle Heath, born November 5, 1891, married October 15, 1919, Major Arthur Haldane Doig.

Page 686: General John Randolph Chambliss had a son, William Hood Chambliss, who married in 1879 Leonora Yates Mallory and had Minnie Mallory Chambliss, who married in 1905 Joseph Henry Drewry of Clifton Forge, Virginia.

Page 692: William Buchanan Rives married Jane Cunningham, born March 10, 1795, in North Carolina, died June 14, 1883, in Clinch County, Georgia. She moved to Georgia about 1856 after the death of her husband and settled at Wadesboro.

Page 698: 4160. _____[4] Rives was probably 10. Benjamin[4].

Page 705: Add William Gee, born about 1727, died 1796/7 in Brunswick County, Virginia, married Tabitha Ingram, daughter of John, and mentions in his will his granddaughters Tabitha and Judith Rives.

THE OLD CABELL GRAVEYARD AT "LIBERTY HALL"

by William Cabell Moore*

The "Liberty Hall" graveyard is located on the "Liberty Hall" farm on the James River at Warminster, in Nelson County, about six miles west of Howardsville. It is on a slight elevation in a field below the site of the house, which burned about 1895, and on part of the land patented by Dr. William Cabell about 1724. Here lived Dr. Cabell, his wife Elizabeth Burks Cabell, founders of the Cabell family in Virginia, and some of their descendants for five generations. The farm now belongs to Mrs. Hartwell Cabell, whose husband acquired it by inheritance, he being of the fifth generation of Cabells in descent from Dr. Cabell to whom it had belonged. Mr. Hartwell Cabell died in December 1955 within a few days of his ninety-second birthday.

The graveyard has around it a stout iron fence which Mr. Cabell had built about 1900. The graves of Dr. and Mrs. Cabell are located in the northeast corner and are marked by a marble monument erected many years ago at the instance of their grandson Joseph Carrington Cabell, who lived nearby at "Edgewood." The monument was placed just east of an old elm tree which, according to Alexander Brown in *The Cabells and Their Kin*, is said to have grown out of their graves. This old tree, which at its base measured about five feet in diameter, was taken down in 1955 in order to prevent further damage to the fence and gravestones. The date of Dr. Cabell's birth and his age as originally inscribed on the monument were erroneous. These errors were corrected in 1955. The monument is inscribed on three sides as follows.

On the east side: "Near this spot / Lie the earthly remains of / DR. WILLIAM CABELL / A native of Wiltshire, England / and the Founder / of the family in Virginia / which bears his name / Those of / ELIZABETH CABELL / his wife / and the Mother of his children / Who died Sep. 21, 1756, / lie by his side."

On the south side: "WILLIAM CABELL / Emigrated / From Warminster, England / to the Colony of Virginia / about 1723-4 / Born March 9, 1699 / Died April 12, 1774 / Aged 75 years."

On the west side: "In honour of their memory / was this stone erected / by the piety of their Grandson / JOSEPH C. CABELL."

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*Dr. Moore is a physician in Washington, D. C.

The north side is bare.

The other marked graves are inscribed as follows.

First row, from north to south:

1. "In memory of / COL. NICHOLAS CABELL / He early took a decided and active part / in behalf of the American Revolution / engaging with zeal / in the Military Service of Virginia: / and afterward sat for 16 years / in the Senate of Virginia / from 1785 to 1801. / Born, Oct. 29, 1750 / Died, Aug. 18, 1803 / Aged 52 years." Colonel Nicholas Cabell was the youngest son of Dr. and Mrs. Cabell.

2. "In memory of / MRS. HANNAH CABELL / Wife of Col. Nicholas Cabell / and daughter of / Col. George Carrington, of Cumberland. / Born, April 16, 1752 / Died, Aug. 7, 1817 / Aged 67 years."

3. "In memory of / MRS. ELIZABETH HARE / Daughter of Col. Nicholas Cabell / and wife of Dr. William B. Hare, / who was some time a member of / the Senate of Virginia, / and one of the Council of State. / She was born May 5, 1776, / and died Nov. 28, 1802: / Aged 26 years."

4. "In memory of / NICHOLAS CABELL, JR., / Youngest son of Col. Nicholas Cabell, / Born Dec. 24, 1780: / Died, June 25, 1809: / Aged 28 years."

5. "In memory of / NICHOLAS C. CABELL / Born / February 9, 1796: / Died / October 13, 1821 / His friends cherish the memory / of his fine intellect, / and of his elevated sense of honor, / and have never ceased to grieve / that their fond hopes were extinguished / in his early grave." Nicholas Carrington Cabell was the son of Judge William H. Cabell, son of Colonel Nicholas Cabell of "Liberty Hall," and Elizabeth Cabell, daughter of Colonel William Cabell, Sr., of "Union Hill."

Second row, from north to south:

6. "In memory of / MRS. MARY ANNE CARRINGTON / Relict of / Capt. Benj. Carrington / of Cumberland / And Daughter of / Col. Nicholas Cabell / of Liberty Hall, Nelson. / Born, 2 Jan., 1783: / Died, 6 Feb., 1850: / Aged 67. / A Christian Lady greatly beloved / of her Family & Friends, and a pat / tern of domestic Virtue."

7. "This stone / covers the remains of/ MRS. MARGARET READ CABELL, / Wife of Nicholas Cabell, Jr. / and daughter of / Col. Samuel W. Venable, of Pr. Edward, / Born, Oct. 20, 1782: / Died, May 31, 1857: / Aged 75 years."

8. "In memory of / NATHANIEL FRANCIS / CABELL / of 'Liberty Hall' / son of / Nicholas Cabell, Jr. / and / Margaret Read / Venable Cabell / Born, July 23, 1807 / Died, Sept. 1, 1891."

9. "In memory of / ANN BLAWS / Daughter of / John H. & Ann B. Cocke, / And first wife of / N. Francis Cabell / Born, Dec. 15, 1811, / at Bremo Recess, Fluvanna Co., Va. / Died, Feb. 20, 1862, / at Liberty Hall, Nelson Co., Va."

10. "This stone / covers the ashes of / FRANCIS HARTWELL CABELL / Eldest son of / N. Francis and Ann B. Cabell. / Born, Jan. 27, 1833: / Died, Oct. 10, 1844: / Aged 11 years."

11. "CARY CHARLES CABELL / youngest son of / N. Francis and Ann B. Cabell / Born, Nov. 20, 1854: / was taken away / May 31, 1856: / Aged 18 months."

12. "FRANCIS BARRAUD / CABELL / Born, July 14, 1866 / Died November 22, 1893." Francis Barraud Cabell was the son of the Reverend Philip Barraud Cabell and Juliet Calvert Bolling Cabell.

13. "JULIET CALVERT BOLLING / CABELL / Wife of / Philip Barraud / Cabell / Born August 3, 1834 / Died January 21, 1923 / Aged 89 years." Mrs. Juliet Calvert Bolling Cabell was the daughter of Thomas Bolling and Mary Louise Morris Bolling, of "Bolling Hall," Goochland County.

14. "PHILIP BARRAUD / CABELL / Born June 16, 1836 / Died March 16, 1904." Philip Barraud Cabell was the son of N. Francis and Anne B. Cocke Cabell, of "Liberty Hall."

Third row:

15. "In memory of / ELIZABETH NICHOLAS / Eldest daughter of / N. Francis & Ann B. Cabell / And first wife of / William D. Cabell / Born, July 16, 1834 / At Warminster, Nelson Co., Va. / Died, April 5, 1863. / SISTER."

The grave of Elizabeth Nicholas Cabell is at the head of her mother's grave. This grave and the graves of her father and mother are the only three graves in the graveyard marked with standing stones. All the stones are clearly marked and well preserved but two were cracked and broken by branches falling from the old elm tree. A number of other members of the family undoubtedly were buried here but none of the other graves is marked.

NOTES *and* QUERIES

NOTES

THE LIFE OF JOHN SMITH, AN ENGLISH SOLDIER – Scholars have long known of the existence of a life of Captain John Smith in Latin, written in 1685 by Henry Wharton. Wharton, at this time only twenty-one, had already drawn attention to himself by a brilliant university career, and was to become an outstanding church historian before his early death.

His manuscript life of Smith, listed as being in the Lambeth Palace Library in London, could not be found there when I attempted to consult it several years ago, until it occurred to us to look under "Fabricius" – the Latin for Smith – in the catalogue. It was brought back to America on microfilm and turned over to Dr. Laura Polyani Striker, an accomplished Latinist as well as an authority on Hungarian history, whom I had consulted in an effort to track down the truth or falsehood of Smith's remarkable account of his exploits in Hungary.

Dr. Striker, convinced of the importance of this, the first biography of Smith, not only made a careful translation of the text, but subjected it to many tests of authenticity which she had developed in the course of tracing the Captain's career in Hungary. Her persistent interest and sound scholarship resulted in the verification of many details of Smith's Hungarian exploits which had been dismissed as fantastic by previous and less resourceful scholars. With this background, she was equipped to evaluate the Wharton text as no one had ever been equipped before.

Five years of continuous research have enabled her not only to come up with the first printed translation of Wharton's brief biography, but to relate it to other evaluations of the controversial Captain, to assess his role in Hungarian history, and to answer the charges of distortion and prevarication which have often been brought against him.

Dr. Striker's fitness for this task is as impressive as her devotion to clearing up the misconceptions and doubts that have attached themselves to Smith's name. It is a stroke of good fortune that the long unpublished Wharton manuscript has been put in print, after nearly three hundred years of neglect, in this anniversary year of Smith's arrival in Virginia. – *Bradford Smith.*

The Virginia Historical Society announces the publication of *The Life of John Smith, an English Soldier,* by Henry Wharton. It has been translated from the Latin by Laura Polyani Striker, who has added an introductory essay. The book is published for the Society by the University of North Carolina Press and sells for $4.00.

LEE HOUSE CLOSED DURING AUGUST – The Lee House including the library and the gallery of the Virginia Historical Society will be closed from August 1 to September 2, 1957, inclusive.

ESSAYS IN HISTORY – The History Club of the University of Virginia has published a third annual volume of *Essays in History*, this time under the editorship of Mr. Ronald O. Moore. The volume contains: "The Southern Frontier and King George's War," by James Leitch Wright; "Puritanism in Seventeenth Century Virginia, or Puritan Anglicanism," by Charles E. Wynes; "The Bonus March of 1932," by Maurice P. Sneller; and "The Red Fox [Andrew Jackson Montague] Runs Straight," by Robert Latané Montague III.

Essays in History may be purchased at one dollar per volume from the Editor, History Club, Corcoran Department of History, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia.

CAPTAIN NEWPORT AT NEWPORT NEWS – On May 2, 1957, the Newport News Public Library unveiled a mural painting by Allan D. Jones, Jr., depicting Captain Christopher Newport at Newport News. Rear Admiral David H. Clark made the address. The program which honored Captain Newport commemorated the 350th anniversary of the settlement of Jamestown.

QUERIES

DANIEL AND PLEASANTS – I would like to know the location of manuscript letters to or from the well-known Richmond newspaper editors, John Moncure Daniel (1825-1865) of the *Examiner* and John Hampden Pleasants (1797-1846) of the *Whig*. Daniel was a native of Stafford County and never married. Pleasants was a native of Goochland County and married, first, Ann Irving and, second, Mary Massie. Any items readers may submit to me will not leave my study and will be returned promptly. – *Curtis Carroll Davis, A-2, Homewood Apartments, Baltimore 18, Md.*

BOOK REVIEWS

Adventures of Purse and Person, Virginia, 1607-1625. Compiled and edited by ANNIE LASH JESTER in collaboration with MARTHA WOODROOF HIDEN. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956. xxix, 442 pp. $15.00. Order from Hugh L. Russell, 1601 Bath Avenue, Ashland, Kentucky.

A glance at this unique volume, sponsored by the Order of First Families of Virginia 1607-1620, is sufficient evidence that it was in preparation several years. The authors have brought together a vast amount of genealogical and historical data pertinent to the earliest period of Virginia's history – a difficult period in which to seek facts and which has heretofore been dealt with too infrequently. Thus, as the 350th anniversary celebration of the founding of Jamestown opens, we have available a volume which is destined to become an indispensable reference work for the genealogist, historian, and biographer.

Here, for the first time, is printed in its entirety, "The Muster of the Inhabitants of Virginia taken between 20 January and 7 February 1624/5" deciphered from an official manuscript in the British Public Record Office. This is, in itself, a most interesting feature. From it we learn the names, ages, and many relationships of the colonists, the time of arrival of ships bringing them to Virginia, and of their sundry possessions. Ample explanatory footnotes are informative for the reader unfamiliar with many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century usages.

Following "The Muster" are genealogical sketches of the families of 109 of these "Adventurers of Purse" (members of the Virginia Company) and "Adventurers of Person" (who themselves came to Virginia), who left descendants now living throughout the United States and in foreign countries. In general, the plan of the book is to trace for three generations the descendants of these forebears, though in many instances in order to direct attention to the descent of distinguished individuals this rule has been relaxed and their lineages detailed. In this manner we learn that H.R.H. Queen Elizabeth II, General George Washington, General Robert Edward Lee, several presidents of the United States, and a host of other distinguished persons are lineal descendants of the Jamestown colonists.

The family sketches follow a genealogical plan easy to comprehend, and in an interesting manner much biographical and historical information has been interwoven which has greatly enhanced the value of the book and at the same time rendered it pleasingly readable. The volume represents earnest and patient research not only in printed sources but in the manuscript material in many widely scattered repositories from coast to coast and in England. Thus, considerable data which have not hitherto appeared in print have been brought together from sources not readily accessible to many. References are cited for every statement.

Fifteen well-chosen illustrations add to the volume. These range from pictures of ancient churches and houses to facsimilies of several unique documents. The end

papers reproduce four maps on which are located various settlements, plantations, and places mentioned in the text.

The format, designed to bring the content into sharp focus, obviously is the work of a master typographer. An index of names, places, and events completes this scholarly work – a significant contribution to our knowledge of the founding period of America at Jamestown.

GEORGE H. S. KING

Fredericksburg, Virginia

The Virginia Experiment: The Old Dominion's Role in the Making of America (1607-1781). By ALF J. MAPP, JR. Richmond: The Dietz Press, Inc., 1957. xiii, 577 pp. $10.00.

MR. MAPP deserves a great deal of credit for his lively style and adroit use of quotations from contemporary sources. He has a genius for narrative history almost equal to that of Parkman himself. He is at his best in telling the story of the Indian Massacre of 1622, Bacon's Rebellion, Braddock's defeat, and the political and military phases of the Revolution. He deals admirably with such incidents as the Parsons' Cause, Henry's Caesar-Brutus speech, Colonel Mercer and the Stamp duties, and the Robinson defalcation. The voluminous notes in the back of the book reveal the fact that Mr. Mapp has not only read the best and most up-to-date secondary works carefully, but has also ranged widely through the available primary sources. And his distribution of space to the component parts of his subject is good. Eighty pages cover the period of the Virginia Company (1607-1624), another ninety carry the story down to the end of Bacon's Rebellion in 1676. Ninety more cover the years 1677-1763; one hundred fifteen are devoted to the events leading up to the Revolution; and ninety more cover the war for independence.

The book, quite obviously, is designed to provide background reading for the visitor to the Jamestown Festival and to illuminate the historical significance of the Jamestown-Williamsburg-Yorktown triangle. And this it does in a considerable measure.

The Virginia Experiment, however, has the rather serious limitation that, from the historian's point of view, it is conceived in terms that are too narrow. Hence the book does not fulfill the expectations created by its subtitle. The Old Dominion's role in the making of America has greater latitude than politics and war, great though Virginia's contribution has been in these spheres. The book is not only primarily concerned with the political and military aspects of history, but in the former category the author has almost a single eye for what relates to the origin and development of modern democracy. Hence he magnifies the importance of certain incidents and minimizes others as he judges them to have a part or not to have a part in the development of what democratic practices we now enjoy.

For example, the "experiment" begins not with the Virginia Company's charter, not with the planting of Jamestown, but more narrowly with an incident that no previous historian has ever made much of although it has been known for years. It begins with the opening on Cape Henry of the sealed box containing King James's

secret instructions for the government of the colony. Seven men are named to the Council but no one of them is designated as governor. As a result, the seven proceed to elect one of their number to preside at meetings. With this "free election," Mr. Mapp declares, "American democracy begins."

Surely this is on a par with Pooh Bah claiming descent from the primordial protoplasmic globule! Surely American democracy has a more respectable parentage than a conclave of seven royally-appointed councillors choosing one of their number to preside at meetings! Our national political way of life is firmly rooted in such English institutions as landownership, the common law, civil rights, and representative government, and all of these were transmitted more-or-less fully formed from the Mother Country to America at Jamestown during the years 1607-1619. They may have continued to develop here and to have produced American mutations, but the thing which really makes Jamestown important is not just that it was the first permanent English colony in America but that so many English institutions of church and state which have proved to be basic to our American way of life were first transmitted to the New World by way of Jamestown. Hence, in a very real sense 1607 was the beginning of what in the fullness of time was to become the United States.

Because of the author's preoccupation with "democracy," his material is sometimes highly selective. For example, he has a great deal to say about Sir Edwin Sandys whose political views were more consonant with modern American democracy, and almost nothing to say about Sir Thomas Smith whose contribution to the success of the colony was notable even though his politics are now out of favor. The result is that the reader who approaches the subject for the first time in this book will come away with such a fantastically polorized view of the founding of Jamestown, that nothing short of reading Wesley Frank Craven's *Dissolution of the Virginia Company* from cover to cover will compensate for it.

Again, in his avid search for democracy in early Virginia, the author's enthusiasm, plus the loose language of some of our older historians, leads him to speak of the Virginia Assembly as being bicameral from the start. Hence, he uses the phrase "House of Burgesses" in an early context. The accepted interpretation is that the Burgesses sat with Governor and Councillors in a single house in 1619, and that the bicameral division did not occur until about 1680.

If the author had confined himself to the narrative portions which he does superlatively well and called the book by another name, there would be nothing to criticize. As it is, however, despite its sterling merits, *The Virginia Experiment* seems to have been written with more democratic esprit-de-corps than intellectual discipline. It cuts a wide and fascinating swath, following the author's bent, through the colonial history of Virginia. Because of Mr. Mapp's extraordinary talent for writing, the reader will be entertained and enriched. Because of the obvious familiarity of the author with the sources and the impressive citations in the footnotes, the unwary reader may also imagine that he is being treated to a balanced historical perspective. In many instances it will be so, but in some rather important ones it will be an illusion.

ARTHUR PIERCE MIDDLETON

Brookfield Centre, Connecticut.

The Cultural Life of the American Colonies, 1607-1763. By Louis B. Wright. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957. xvi, 292 pp. $5.00.

In the eleven chapters of *The Cultural Life of the American Colonies, 1607-1763* Dr. Louis B. Wright produces a remarkable synthesis of dozens of individual or special studies, including many of his own, concerned with this country before the first stages of the Revolutionary conflict. Beginning with "Agrarian Society and Leadership," which rightly emphasizes the rural character of all colonial life, north and south, he proceeds to analyze the philosophy of the nobility of work and trade, and the varied contributions of many racial elements. Then he goes on to religion; education, books, libraries, and learning; literary production; architecture and the decorative arts; scientific interest and observation; and the press and communications.

From this outline the reader will gather that Dr. Wright's definition of "cultural life" is a rather broad one. Yet only the first three chapters are really concerned with what may be considered essentially social history, and then really as a basis for explaining the intellectual, religious, and artistic life of the colonies.

The author is remarkably objective in his consideration of certain claims, and the bases of certain claims, which many historians of New England and the South have made in the past. As one who knows his other books would expect, he presents Virginia and southern aristocracy generally as more homespun and hard working than elegant and leisurely. Nor does he allow New England by any means the full measure of oft-repeated claims of superior moral virtue and intellectual interest which have been made for her. He sees the colonies from Boston to Savannah as having much more in common than in difference.

Another interesting and useful feature of this presentation is that Dr. Wright frequently points out which of our characteristics in our national period derive from colonial cultural traits. For example, he makes clear the part of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century promotion pamphlet in forming our social and intellectual habits and ideas. And the long colonial apprenticeship in various other forms of purposeful writing flowered, he indicates, in the magnificent political prose of the Revolutionary era. The utilitarian bases of our scientific investigation he demonstrates were already present as primary motivation in the early scientific observations and productions of the seventeenth century.

Virginia naturally has a large place in this book. The Chesapeake region and its way of life are approached from many different angles – its tobacco, its architecture, its educational systems, its plays, and its pictures.

Long bibliographical chapters are in themselves most valuable to the scholar or amateur investigator and at the same time indicate how extensive has been the use of the most recent work in the fields surveyed. Few books afford such generally pleasant reading, for Dr. Wright has shaped with humor and charm this new relation of the humanistic-social beginnings of our civilization.

Richard Beale Davis

University of Tennessee

King James VI and I. By D. Harris Willson. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1956. 480 pp. $6.00.

Professor D. H. Willson of the University of Minnesota has written a very careful and complete life of James Stuart, King of Scotland and England during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The treatment is straightforward and follows the great tradition of Christian, Whig historism in depicting the life of this most baroque of kings from his early fatherless insecurities during Scotland's Reformation, to his maturation as Scotland's King James VI in a power maelstrom requiring eternal vigilance, nimbleness, and conscienceless flexibility, through his overeager salivation for the Crown of England, his systematic dissipation of English good will and Crown influence upon accession to the throne, and to the dènouement of this vain and petty king who was yet a wise and proud man, saddened by his vision of the fateful future to which he and his heirs were chained by the regality which consumed them.

Especially good are Professor Willson's pictures of King James VI of Scotland as he schemes and barters and begs with Elizabeth to name him her successor, acquiescing in and relieved over the execution of his mother. James's relationship to his "faithful beagle" Salisbury has never been so well and succinctly told, and oddly, through Professor Willson's careful admiration for Salisbury's industry, we see and understand how and why he was so thoroughly James's "beagle." The tying of the knot of constitutional crisis during the opening years of the seventeenth century is told well and economically without departure from the traditions established years ago by Professor McIlwain, and before him, Justice Coke. Once over this interpretative crisis, the book makes its way thoroughly and steadily to the weak and maudlin end of its principal.

It is a story well and fully told. If it is not the definitive story of James Stuart, that is only because rationalist political historism had already yielded up most of what it had to tell us before Professor Willson began his task. Of course, any treatment of this epoch will be controversial, for it was a time when all was controversy, and the time of precisely those controversies from which we trace the origins of contemporary philosophical and ideological antagonisms. Partisans of A. L. Rouse's reorganization of the Tudor world will dispute the sharpness of the break from Tudor ways attributed to the Stuarts. Those who have followed F. D. Wormuth's reinterpretation of the seventeenth-century constitutional crisis will remain unsatisfied with this repetition of the traditional liberal viewpoint.

Concerning this book's greatest enigma, the person of James himself, Professor Willson's exhaustive investigation demonstrates that the enigma of this man and his time now awaits attempted resolution by those able to bring to the task not only historical scholarship, but also analytical aids from psychology and social anthropology, to name but two of the fields most fruitful in dealing with the world of the Stuarts.

Harvey Wheeler

Washington and Lee University

Maryland's Established Church. By NELSON WAITE RIGHTMYER. Baltimore: The Church Historical Society for the Diocese of Maryland, 1956. xii, 239 pp. $5.00.

THIS is an account of the Anglican Church in Maryland and its history as the Established Church of that Province, from its creation in 1632 until the American Revolution. Dr. Rightmyer has already won his spurs as a student and writer in the field of American Church History. He has done a notable piece of work in this history of the Church in Maryland; and all future students of ecclesiastical conditions in America prior to the Revolution will be grateful to him for the work he has done in that field.

He has set for himself in this study of Maryland the task of assembling from every available source the facts that have survived in existing records. He has gone in detail into incidents of parish life as well as legislative and proprietorial movements and actions wherever it has been necessary to correct or amplify the statements of earlier writers, so as to present in understandable form the problems which the Anglican Church faced and tried to solve.

Any study of the life of Maryland in either church or state must be based upon the fundamental fact that development and growth were dependent upon the cooperation and unity of aims between four influential groups; the people, the legislature, the proprietor, and the king. There were three groups only in the royal provinces; the people, the legislature, and the king. This was true of every palatinate province in America.

This fact of the ever present power and authority of a proprietor has caused the religious history of the Church in Maryland to present a tragic picture of frustration and defeat; of continual strife and misunderstanding, between those frequently antagonistic forces. Started in 1632 under the ownership of Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholic nobleman, as a haven for Roman Catholics, the colony came within twenty-five years under the control of Protestants, many of whom had been Puritans forced out of Virginia during the Civil War in England because of disloyalty to the King and his colonial government.

While many Roman Catholic immigrants came to Maryland, and received as a general rule the protection of the government, the great majority of the people throughout the whole colonial period were Anglican in religious faith. Yet the Church of England did not become the Established Church of the province until the last decade of the seventeenth century.

Because it was a palatinate province the proprietor, Roman Catholic although the first two or three were, appointed the rectors of parishes. He also created parishes and fixed the salary of the clergymen. As Dr. Rightmyer shows, one proprietor, at least, appointed to several parishes clergymen of whose character and conduct the congregation could not approve; and the congregation could do nothing at all about it. The successive Bishops of London from 1676 to 1748 appointed commissaries to serve in the colonies where the Anglican Church was strong, to strengthen the morale of the clergy, and to take such action as they could to discipline unworthy ones. Commissary James Blair did notable work for the Church in Virginia during his more than fifty years of service. But in Maryland the commissarial system fell into utter confusion because of conflict between the General Assembly and the proprietor, and because of

the power of the proprietor to direct the action of the commissary. This power in the hands of the proprietor would seem to explain why the first Commissary to Maryland, Dr. Bray, stayed in Maryland for a few months only and then went back to England to work as best he could for the welfare of the church in the colony at long distance.

Yet, on the other side, the whole picture of the later half of the colonial period shows the steady growth of the Anglican population. True, it was an unorganized mass, with a body of clergy appointed from outside, over whom the Church as a body had no control: having as two masters an unsympathetic legislature and an absentee proprietor. One wonders sometimes how the Church survived at all. Yet it did survive; and as soon as the Revolution released it from the chains of a civil legislature and proprietorial power, it became almost at once one of the strongest dioceses in the newly formed Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

G. MacLaren Brydon

Richmond, Virginia

Essays on American History. By Mary H. Flournoy. Washington, D. C.: Peabody Press, 1956. vi, 55 pp. $1.00, paper covers.

This pleasant collection of seven essays on varied topics of American history comes from the pen of Mrs. Mary H. Flournoy, who is custodian of the Lee Chapel at Lexington, Virginia. She is a former Historian-General of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Her devotion to historic lore is not burdened by much annotation, scholarly paraphernalia, or ostentatious genuflection to same Germanic muse of history.

Marshall W. Fishwick's foreword to this little volume is strangely lacking in anything to shock or startle. Instead, he comments favorably on Robert E. Lee, Douglas S. Freeman, and Southern womanhood. There is little departure from the familiar secondary sources in Mrs. Flournoy's account of the Virginia General Assembly of 1619, of "Dr. Benjamin Rush: Versatile American," and of "Mount Vernon Today and Yesterday."

In "The Huguenot Influence in America," we learn that such personages as Robert E. Lee, Matthew Fontaine Maury, and the Queen-Mother Elizabeth are descended from French Protestants who settled in America. The statement that André Micheaux introduced the culture of tea into South Carolina is fraught with possibilities which some readers may wish that the author had not ducked. If Micheaux were so "very successful," were South Carolinians tea-growers responsible for the Charleston Tea Party of 1774?

An essay with the tricky title "The Founding Mothers" contains brief sketches of Mary, Martha, and Nelly Custis Washington, Abigail Cranch Adams, Dolly [*sic*] Payne Madison, Martha Jefferson Randolph, Theodosia Burr Alston and goodness-knows-how-many others. It would be unfair to carp at the inclusion among this number of the seventeenth-century Princess Pocahontas. Although the political drawingroom of the "dazzling" Mrs. William Bingham of Philadelphia is likened to the salon of Madame Roland, with restraint the levees of President and Mrs. Wash-

ington are described without reference to "Lady" Washington. In fairness, one must note inclusion of others than the *haut monde*, such as Captain Molly Pitcher and Mrs. Deborah Gannett, "our first official WAC."

"The Loyalists in the Revolutionary Period" presents the usual list of Virginians who remained steadfast to the mother country: Ralph Wormley, Richard Corbin, William Byrd III, and Sir John Randolph. Loyalists of other states are dealt with, too. One may still hope to find some writer who will, as Mrs. Flournoy does not, make reference to those who were loyal to Parliament, instead of the invariable phrases of loyalty to King and to Crown. Although there is no mention of the absence of harsh Virginia laws against neutral Loyalists, the author quotes laws of other states which banished them.

It is unfortunate that the essay on Alexander Hamilton does not note his subversion of the Federalist party in the late 1790's. Hamilton had a way with the ladies in his own day, and his charm has leapt the centuries to make a captive of Mrs. Flournoy. Therefore, one must pardon the enraptured lady for whitewashing him.

In *Essays on American History*, Mrs. Flournoy has written on interesting subjects in a light, chatty vein for clubwomen like herself. She has written to entertain, and her readers will find that she does so.

GEORGE GREEN SHACKELFORD

Virginia Polytechnic Institute

Tarheel Talk. By NORMAN E. ELIASON. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1956. vii, 324 pp. $5.00.

THE speech of North Carolinians is a composite of features, no one of which is solely peculiar to the Tarheel state, but altogether these features make up the language of North Carolina and make it different from that of other states. A historical study of "Tarheel talk" or of any dialect must attempt to show how its distinctive characteristics evolved. This is a tremendous undertaking, for the information is buried in the writings of individuals, especially in those writings of the untutored, for phonetic spellings (misspellings) and in a few cases rhymes are the only direct evidence of the pronunciation of a language of a bygone era. The writings (contained in the Southern Historical Collection of Manuscripts at the University of North Carolina) from which Professor Eliason has gathered his material are by people from several walks of life and offer an intimate social as well as linguistic glimpse into the folk history of North Carolina. The specific writings, e.g. legal papers, bills, records, children's and college students' compositions, personal letters, from which excerpts are liberally quoted, all attest to the great amount of research done. The author has not only sifted through material in which phonetic spellings are most likely to have occurred, but he has studied the writings of the educated class which reveal attitudes and forms of address. The period under survey is from about 1750 to 1860.

The first two chapters of this book present the background of the language of North Carolina and discuss the source material. The remaining four chapters contain the author's findings and conclusions. Chapter three, dealing with language attitudes

and differences, is for the social historian the most important chapter of the book. Although there was a general and genuine respect for correct English in North Carolina, it is also enlightening to know that "there was practically no other interest in the English language."

To the lay reader as well as the linguist, chapter four entitled "Vocabulary" is probably the most interesting and valuable. The author makes a modest claim to the number of genuine North Carolinaisms found, i.e. "terms that have originated here or are current nowhere else." But his contribution to lexical studies is immense; for example, he has listed about fifty items for which he has noted usages earlier than those listed in the *Dictionary of Americanisms*. Further and probably more importantly he has added to our information concerning the semantics of many of these early terms. Proper names are discussed and a more realistic perspective is drawn relative to name giving, both among whites and Negroes. Swearing and ribaldry are not neglected.

In chapter five, on pronunciation, Professor Eliason could have made use of Trager and Smith's ingenious "An Outline of English Structure" (*Studies in Linguistics: Occasional Papers* 3. Norman, Oklahoma, 1951) as a basis for systematizing his presentation of the phonetics, both synchronically and diachronically; but it is undoubtedly sounder when one is treading the line between the technical and the non-technical, which Professor Eliason does with great skill, to use a more popular interpretation of phonetics.

The final chapter on grammar does not pretend to be a thorough study of the grammar of North Carolina speech of this epoch, but rather it points out the salient grammatical features noticed in the writings.

The major contributions of this book are several: addenda to our records (records in the form of *The Oxford English Dictionary, The Dictionary of American English* and *The Dictionary of Americanisms*) of the origins or at least the first occurrences of many words and terms; a reasonable interpretation of the social attitudes represented by many of the vocabulary items and expressions; and, probably most interesting to the non-linguist reader, a laying of many ghosts: folk speech is not full of quaint expressions, southern dialects did not stem from Negro speech, people of the early South had a strong respect for correctness in writing and talking and did not purposely "talk down" to their inferiors, and most slave names were not unusual.

WESTBROOK BARRITT

Washington and Lee University

The Legend of the Founding Fathers. By WESLEY FRANK CRAVEN. New York: New York University Press, 1956. 191 pp. $4.50.

PROFESSOR CRAVEN states in the last paragraph of this book, "What I have been trying to do in these lectures is to suggest some of the influences that have shaped, in successive periods of our history, the American's interest in the origins of his country." In six Phelps Lectures which form this book he has done well what he set out to do.

The first lecture, "Why Came We Here?" points out that by 1765 New Englanders had developed a tradition attributing the foundation of their community

to those ideals commonly associated with the debates preceding the American Revolution. He tells how tradition influenced politics in that debate and how political need influenced the development of tradition. Taking Massachusetts and Virginia as examples, he explains why "Puritan New England has so largely shaped and developed that tradition," a statement which Virginians should ponder.

In the second lecture, "The First and Second Founding" (that by the original settlers and that by the Revolutionary fathers) Craven is right, doubtless, in holding that tradition of the early founders played a larger part with New Englanders than with Virginians in their appeal for liberty in the Revolutionary debate. But as Professor Channing once pointed out, Virginians led in the constitutional argument. Throughout the Colonial Period Virginians constantly referred to English constitutional documents and precedents. And before 1765 Virginians, led by Richard Bland and George Wythe, in the debate over the suggested Stamp Act and over the Two-Penny Act, after stating fully their constitutional arguments, added the more advanced arguments – more suitable to revolution – the dignity and rights of men as individuals. These arguments were based on a distinction between right and power under the law.

"We conceive," wrote Virginia's Committee of Correspondence in July 1764, "that no man or body of men, however vested with power have a right to do anything that is contrary to reason and justice or that can tend to the destruction of the Constitution." During that summer Richard Bland wrote in defense of the Two-Penny Act, "I have a high reverence for the majesty of the King's authority . . . [but] something is likewise due to the rights of our country and to the liberties of mankind." (*William and Mary Quarterly*, 2nd ser., XIX, 26.)

Lecture three, "The Shaping of a National Tradition," traces the growth of that tradition in the early years of the Republic.

"Pride of Ancestry" and "Differing Descendants," the fourth and fifth lectures, give an incisive and interesting account of those topics. Pride of ancestry has manifested itself in literature, societies (patriotic and otherwise) based on ancestry, local and national histories, church histories, and historical societies.

The sixth and one of the most enjoyable of the lectures is "A Legend Debunked and Restored." The author here deals with several legends so treated. Incidentally he gives a very neat profile of the original "debunker," William E. Woodward.

Professor Craven contends that he does not intend to exhort; but he unobstrusively, almost apologetically, sticks barbs into many of the follies and foibles of those who unduly capitalize on the legends of the Founding Fathers.

Richard L. Morton

College of William and Mary

The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America, 1735-1789. By Brooke Hindle. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1956. xi, 410 pp. $7.50.

Though long needed and looked forward to, this substantial study could probably not have been produced until now. The story of scientific activity in eighteenth-cen-

tury America is a story of hopeful but obscure beginnings, of a few remarkable accomplishments but more false starts, and plain absurdities. On the one hand there stand figures like Franklin and Colden in physics, Rittenhouse and Winthrop in astronomy, John Clayton, John Mitchell, the elder Bartram and Henry Muhlenberg in horticulture. On the other hand there are literally scores of almost or wholly forgotten men, throughout the old colonies or new states, who aspired to contribute a mite of knowledge to mankind's understanding of nature. They were teachers, preachers, physicians, or simply amateur lovers of "philosophical pursuits" stimulated by the urges of the European Enlightenment and the sense of a special American destiny. Thomas Gilpin, a Quaker merchant and landowner in Maryland, was typical of the amateurs. He prepared scientific papers, Mr. Hindle tells us, "on the wheat fly, the seventeen-year locust, a hydraulic wind pump, and the migration of herrings," and surveyed a route for a canal to connect the Delaware River and Chesapeake Bay. John Page of Rosewell in Gloucester County, Virginia, was another of this class. He had a lively interest in astronomical, meteorological, and agricultural science and a stubborn but frustrated ambition to maintain what was called the Virginian Society for the Promotion of Usefull Knowledge "in humble imitation of the Royal Society" in London.

Nothing like a connected narrative or adequate appraisal of such diverse and individually unimportant activities would have been possible until very recently, because they were beneath the notice of historical scholars. But within the past two or three decades the history of science has become a recognized intellectual discipline in more and more academic centers in the United States. Mr. Hindle, who was trained at one of the earliest and most vigorous of these centers (the University of Pennsylvania), has drawn heavily on the labors of many forerunners and colleagues, but he has added a great deal of his own to them. He has combed the copious but scattered sources for his subject – printed and manuscript letters and journals, contemporary magazines and newspapers, the publications and archives of learned societies and the early colleges – with heroic industry. The result, though something of a mosaic of fragments, is a skillfully organized and immensely informative book.

Here one may read about "the natural history circle" of the British mainland colonies that "constituted the first scientific community in America"; about physicians who were botanists, chemists, and cartographers as well as founders of hospitals and dispensaries; about the beginnings of organized effort in behalf of science – or at least of "useful knowledge" – which permanently established the American Philosophical Society in the 1760's and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in the 1780's; and about innumerable early attempts to apply scientific methods to agriculture, industry, and transportation, most of them less important in themselves than prophetic of the nineteenth century. Mr. Hindle very properly gives a good deal of attention to what sociologists call the instruments of culture: the ways in which science was taught and the means by which scientific knowledge was spread. Thus we learn much about the book trade and libraries, the museums of DuSimitière and Peale, and the growth of colleges in numbers and quality. I know of no other book in which one can find such full details on what the Revolutionary War actually did, for ill and for good, to the colonial colleges.

"I must study politics and war," John Adams said in 1780, "that my sons may have liberty to study mathematics and philosophy." And Thomas Jefferson complained throughout his life that public duties had driven him from "the tranquil pursuits of science," which were his "supreme delight." All this was inevitable, and possibly just as well. Mr. Hindle candidly concedes that the major American triumphs of that age were in politics and not in science; but he has pulled the curtain back on a scene of scientific activity far richer in intrinsic interest and in promise for the future than most of us supposed existed.

L. H. Butterfield

Massachusetts Historical Society

The Birth of the Republic, 1763-89. By Edmund S. Morgan. *The Chicago History of American Civilization,* edited by Daniel J. Boorstin. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956. ix, 177 pp. $3.00.

This latest coöperative enterprise in American history, with some twenty volumes planned to date, is to consist of both chronological and topical treatments and is designed to present stimulating essays to the college freshman or other beginning student. The first of the chronological volumes to be published, covering twenty-seven crowded years, involves of necessity a high degree of selectivity. The evaluation of recent interpretations of the period makes the essay stimulating for the advanced as well as the beginning student.

The author, who is Professor of History at Yale University, views the history of the American Revolution as being primarily the history of Americans' search for principles. The first discovery made in this search was that Parliament could not tax the colonies. As in an earlier detailed study of the Stamp Act crisis, Professor Morgan finds that virtual representation was "specious nonsense," and that the distinction between internal and external taxation was not made by the Stamp Act Congress, nor by the colonists generally. Benjamin Franklin's testimony before the House of Commons "was a dangerous piece of deception with unfortunate aftereffects . . . ," because it made this distinction. To require Franklin to bear all the blame in this instance seems unduly harsh. By 1773 some colonists had moved to the stand that any legislation without representation was tyranny. The first half of the volume carries the search for principles to 1776, when the conclusion was reached that all men are created equal.

The greatest change produced in three million "cantankerous" Americans by their Revolution, the author feels, was that it united them into a new nation. This view depreciates the emphasis by those recent historians who have interpreted the struggle to determine who would rule at home as being equal in significance to the struggle for independence.

While the "Critical Period" witnessed the winning of a war, recovery from a post-war depression, and formulation of a plan for new states, it remained sufficiently critical to require a basic modification of the Articles of Confederation. The objective of producing a national government which would not be too strong had been achieved, but in the very process there had been unloosed a centrifugal force which

was destroying the new nation as each state became increasingly jealous of its rights and prerogatives, and, in some cases, apparently unconcerned over property rights. Objectives of the Constitutional Convention included preservation of the new nation which the Revolution had created, as well as protection of the property rights for which the Revolution had been fought. And while compromise was necessary, the equality of men "was spelled out to the satisfaction of most of its advocates."

Some readers will find fault with the slight treatment of certain incidents, such as four lines devoted to Patrick Henry's Stamp Act Resolutions and only ten pages devoted to military history. A critical bibliographical note compensates to some extent for the lack of footnotes. Quotations are well chosen to emphasize attitudes and viewpoints, and the brief descriptions of major personalities are excellent.

NEWTON B. JONES

Presbyterian College

The Committees of Safety of Westmoreland and Fincastle: Proceedings of the County Committees, 1774-1776. Edited by RICHARD BARKSDALE HARWELL. Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1956. 127 pp. $1.00.

ANY further light upon Virginia's part in the American Revolution than that now already familiar is always welcome. The reader will be pleased to learn that through the persistent efforts of Mr. William J. Van Schreeven the records of two more county Committees of Safety have been discovered, those of Westmoreland in the Munn Collection of the Fordham University Library, and those of Fincastle in the courthouse of a descendant county, Montgomery in Christiansburg. Microfilms of the Westmoreland proceedings, and the originals of those of Fincastle have been placed in the Virginia State Library. Mr. Harwell's edition of these records brings to six the number of counties whose papers of this type the Library has published, the others being Cumberland and Isle of Wight in the Library's *Report* for 1918, and Caroline and Southampton in Volume XVII, No. 3 of the *Bulletin* of the Virginia State Library, 1929.

Proceedings of the Westmoreland County Committee beginning June 22, 1774, and concluding July 30, 1776, fill some thirty pages in Mr. Harwell's edition. They include early expression of sympathy for Massachusetts Bay then suffering from the Intolerable Acts; promised support of a non-importation agreement; and opposition to taxation except "in our provincial assemblies, by Representatives freely chosen by the people"; also public exposure in the press of a gentleman expressing sympathy with the crown; support of measures of the first Continental Congress; censure of Governor Dunmore for removing the powder supply; election, under order of the Virginia Convention, of a County Committee of Safety, with the names of those chosen; measures for the apprehension and punishment of violators of the non-importation agreement; appointment of military officers for the county forces; and provision for munitions and supplies. An appendix includes the stirring Westmoreland Resolutions of ten years before with its long list of prominent signers protesting the Stamp Act.

The papers of the Fincastle Committee beginning January 20, 1775, concluding June 11, 1776, also fill some thirty pages, including, with the fifteen names of the Committee, the bold pronouncement of the freeholders of Fincastle on their return from the bloody victory against the Shawnees at Point Pleasant. Denouncing a venal British ministry but still professing allegiance to the crown, the Resolutions conclude "But if no pacifick measures shall be proposed or adopted by Great Britain, and our enemies will attempt to dragoon us out of those inestimable privileges which we are entitled to as subjects, and to reduce us to a state of slavery, we declare that we are deliberately and resolutely determined never to surrender them to any power upon earth, but at the expense of our lives. These are our real, though unpolished sentiments of liberty and loyalty, and in them we are resolved to live and die."

Also included are an address of thanks to Governor Dunmore for ordering the Point Pleasant campaign against the Ohio Indians, just successfully concluded; resolutions of censure against the same Governor Dunmore for later removing the powder supply from Williamsburg; and a letter of thanks and appreciation to Colonel William Christian, able chairman of the Fincastle Committee of Safety, now resigning to accept a commission in the colony's regular military forces. Further papers record the order of lead from the Chiswell mines to be shipped to Williamsburg, receipt and distribution of powder and rifle flints and salt from Williamsburg, appointment of officers over widely separated companies in the vast expanse of the county, consideration of petitions for division of the county or more convenient distribution of muster grounds, apprehension of individuals expressing sympathy with Tories, ordering of companies of regulars to Williamsburg, preparations by the militia for defense against the Cherokees, and the disposition of scouts along the frontier.

Further Fincastle material, mostly documentary, appears in the appendix, bearing in most instances upon the above mentioned topics, of particular note being Arthur Campbell's letter to the Committee from Williamsburg, May 28, 1776, on the consideration of a bill of rights in the House, Dunmore's movement to Gloucester, the expected invasion of the southwest frontier by the Cherokees, and the directions to Fincastle to depend upon her own militia for defense until further notice. Also, among other items in the appendix is the Petition (with more than 200 names) from the Western Part of Fincastle for a division into a new county, many having labored under the hardship of attending "near one hundred fifty miles upon all public business"; and the Petition of Pendleton District for inclusion under Virginia's jurisdiction.

Annotation of the various sources cited in this work seem adequate. If at any juncture an additional note of clarification might be added it would be to the Fincastle address of thanks to Lord Dunmore for his activities in the Point Pleasant campaign. To the reader unfamiliar with the action of the battle itself, it would appear the Governor and his troops were heavily engaged, whereas in actuality although the Governor ordered the campaign and planned to join Andrew Lewis and his force with one comparable, the army of Lewis fought the battle alone, Dunmore and his troops being encamped at the time some forty miles away, up the Ohio, at the mouth of Hockhocking, and not hearing of Lewis' bloody victory until three days after the battle was fought.

In addition to the actual documents included in Mr. Harwell's edition of the proceedings of the Westmoreland and Fincastle Committees he has prepared in some fifteen pages an illuminating introduction. Here we find explained not only much of the background, in the way of personnel, geography, and local circumstances, necessary for an understanding of the material edited, but a commendable appreciation of the parts widely separated sections of the colony and state of Virginia played in bringing the American War for Independence to a successful conclusion.

For the brief but critical period covered, this publication represents a valuable contribution to Virginia sources on the American Revolution.

DANIEL A. CANNADAY

Radford College

Truxtun of the Constellation: *The Life of Commodore Thomas Truxton, U. S. Navy, 1755-1822.* By EUGENE S. FERGUSON. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1956. xiv, 322 pp. $5.25.

MR. EUGENE S. FERGUSON has performed a signal service in presenting this full length portrait of one of the most important, but least known figures of the early United States Navy. Thomas Truxtun, born in 1755 to an obscure family within that class of society known as "gentlemen," lived to write his name boldly, if on occasion flamboyantly, across the pages of history.

Truxtun's introduction to a life on the ocean wave started out as did most of his contemporaries. Beginning as a merchant seaman in his teens, at 20 he rose to command a ship of his own delightfully named *Charming Polly* after his new bride. Soon afterwards he received his baptism of fire as a privateersman in the Revolutionary War. When the United States Navy was revived, having been disbanded at the close of the Revolution, Truxtun was one of the first six captains appointed by President Washington in 1794. Since it was obvious that we must have a navy or suffer increasing indignities at the hands of the Barbary Powers, Congress, with some misgivings, at length authorized the construction of six new warships, four of 44 guns and two of 38. The senior officers were assigned to supervise their construction and Truxtun drew the 38-gunner, building at Baltimore. This smart frigate, the *Constellation,* was to become one of the navy's most famous vessels of all time owing to the dynamic leadership of Thomas Truxtun.

Mr. Ferguson's chapters covering the trials and delays in getting the ships built, launched, outfitted and ready for sea are exceptionally vivid. But finally, after interminable delays, the *Constellation* slipped down the Chesapeake to Hampton Roads, took on the balance of her crew from Norfolk, and put to sea on her shakedown cruise on June 26, 1798.

During the ensuing Quasi-War with France, the well-drilled *Constellation* smartly defeated the larger and heavier gunned French frigate *La Vengeance* in a night action off Guadeloupe. Though this drew high praise in most quarters and a gold medal was voted by Congress in 1800 to honor the commander, Truxtun's triumph was dimmed by several detractors who claimed, not unreasonably, that the captain's bravery had not been tempered by sufficient prudence. Actually, peppery Truxtun

became his own worst enemy in that, not satisfied by defeating a 54-gun ship with his own 38, he later endeavored to magnify the achievement by claiming *La Vengeance* carried 60 guns with a proportionately larger crew. Such boasting tended to bore his listeners.

Two years later the commodore resigned from the navy in disgust. His latter days ashore were not to be happy ones. Trained to command ships and to receive instant and unquestioned obedience from men, he undertook the running of a household that formerly had gotten along quite well enough without him during his long absences at sea. And poor Polly was charming no longer when he put a public notice in an 1811 newspaper to the effect that he would no longer be responsible for debts incurred by anyone "other than myself *in person*." She had charged a pair of shoes without consulting him!

But though there had been a regrettable decline of the Truxtun star from the splendid apogee of *La Vengeance*, the commodore's stamp on the U.S. Navy was to prove indelible. The author sums it up succinctly in his concluding paragraph: "The tradition of Thomas Truxtun still lives. His concept of command at sea has stood the test of a century and a half of time. As long as the United States Navy ranges the waters of the globe, his spirit will ride the bridge of every ship in every ocean . . . keeping always uppermost in his thoughts the honor and glory of his country's flag."

The book is well written and carefully documented. Family papers were made available to the author, and he has apparently used them wisely and well in corroboration with other contemporary documents. One small detail is worth recommending. Heading the groups of notes and references pertaining to each chapter, which are placed together in the back of the book, are the numbers of the text pages involved. This means that it is simple to use the citations both forward and back with a minimum of fumbling around through the pages to find them.

A spirited painting of the *Constellation* in color is reproduced on the book jacket together with the 1817 Bass Otis portrait of the commodore. Unfortunately neither finds its way inside the book and what illustrations do appear are disappointing. Wonderful contemporary aquatints of naval actions of the period are available and might well have been included. But the work is well printed and edited and belongs on any nautical bookshelf worthy of the name. It is curious though that among the several monuments to Commodore Truxtun, the existance of the Truxtun-Decatur Naval Museum at Washington was not cited.

ALEXANDER CROSBY BROWN

Warwick, Virginia

Jefferson, Champion of the Free Mind. By PHILLIPS RUSSELL. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1956. viii, 374 pp. $6.00.

AFTER Lincoln, Washington, and Franklin, no American has attracted more scholarly and literary attention than Thomas Jefferson. Yet, nothing approaching a first-rate one-volume biography of the sage of Monticello has appeared. No doubt the sweeping panorama of Jefferson's life makes the task an exceedingly difficult one

to approach. But Mr. Russell has made the attempt and has achieved some success. He has followed the third President from his boyhood on Peter Jefferson's farm through exciting years as penman of the Revolution, minister to France, and leader of the new republic's first "party of the common man," to the contentment of family, letter-writing, and builder of the University of Virginia which occupied his years of retirement in the Virginia Piedmont. Along the way Mr. Russell does a good job of bringing to the attention of the general reader some of the contributions of recent Jefferson scholarship, such as the placing of Jefferson in the tradition of English constitutional liberalism rather in the more dramatic pattern of continental philosophic radicalism. The analysis of Jefferson's views on education is admirable, and the discussion of his relationship with his daughters, "Patsy" and "Polly," was delightfully fresh to this reviewer. Finally, the book is attractively printed and contains many fine illustrations.

Beyond these virtues, however, the book has major deficiencies. Even in a popular biography, there is little excuse for such errors as having the first Continental Congress meeting in 1775, beginning Jefferson's vice-presidency on March 4, 1796, and beginning his friendship with James Madison in the year 1765, to mention a few difficulties. More significant than these errors of fact is the gross superficiality in the treatment of Jefferson's political career. Mr. Russell has simply reproduced the long-discredited "black-and-white" picture painted by Claude Bowers ten years or more ago. Jefferson is always the "good guy," and his opponents, whether Hamilton, Marshall, or the whole Federalist Party, are monarchists who cynically disregard the public welfare – something a glance at Leonard White's fine study, *The Federalists*, quickly refutes. Related to this is a thin treatment of Jefferson's intellectual life, and a disjointed organization which fails to convey any overall understanding of Jefferson in the context of his age. Curiously, Mr. Russell has occasionally footnoted relatively minor studies of Jefferson, but Dumas Malone and Julian P. Boyd are nowhere mentioned. At times one is quite certain the works of these great scholars were at Mr. Russell's elbow, but the deep wisdom to be gleaned from them does not grace the book in any sustained sense. A disposition to question Mr. Russell's judgment in devoting 100 pages to five years spent in France and only fifty pages to eight years in the White House is rendered impotent by the intriguing tales of Jefferson and the women of Europe which dominate the story of the years abroad!

These are strong words and are justifiable only in view of the magnitude of the opportunity which has been missed. When one thinks of such superb single volume biographies as Benjamin Thomas' *Lincoln* or A. J. P. Taylor's *Bismarck*, or even a heavier, semi-anthology such as Van Doren's *Franklin*, one cannot help but covet similiar treatment for such a great and attractive personality as Jefferson. Regretfully, this reviewer finds Mr. Russell has not given us the first-rate biography so greatly needed. Let us hope, though, that his courageous effort will attract other pens to this worthy task.

RALPH L. KETCHAM

The Papers of James Madison

James Madison: The President, 1809-1812. By IRVING BRANT. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1956. viii, 540 pp. $6.50.

FOUR or five years ago, in the midst of the research for his volume on Madison's tenure as Secretary of State, Irving Brant commented that "Henry Adams left James Madison buried under 750,000 disparaging words." If Henry Adams were still alive, no doubt many thousand more words would be consumed in the greatest debate of American historical interpretation in a generation, for Irving Brant's study *James Madison: The President, 1809-1812,* continues his relentless attack on Adams' picture of Madison's vacillating, fumbling activity in the Executive Department.

Although Mr. Brant has not burdened his readers with explicit confrontations with Adams' interpretations, there is no mistaking the real adversary in this fifth volume of the life of James Madison. General readers looking for an accurate impression of America's past, as well as historians interested in new light on long-standing controversies should be grateful to Mr. Brant for his skillful perseverance in this monumental study of the "Father of the Constitution." He has continued his resurrection of Madison as a vigorous personality in his own right, fully capable of formulating policy without Jefferson's advice, and of carrying it out apart from Gallatin's administrative skill.

But Irving Brant's quarrel with Henry Adams is more serious than a difference over the personality and reputation of one man. The whole Adams' view picturing the Republican Administrations as devoid of any constructive program of their own, held together by Jefferson's consummate skill as a politician during his terms, and then stumbling into humiliation and oblivion during the tenure of his successor, is explicitly taken to task. The central thesis of this volume is that the Jefferson-Madison foreign policy (really more Madison's than Jefferson's, both in formulation and execution, if Brant's view is accepted) of firm impartiality as between France and England was both wise and practical, and would have succeeded if the belligerents had not been hopelessly ignorant of American intentions, and if the policy had commanded the loyal support simple patriotism required in the Northeastern states. Mr. Brant shows, for example, that it was Madison and his Secretary of State, James Monroe, not the War Hawks, who master-minded the "get tough" policy with England during the first six months of 1812. Furthermore, the New England Federalists are shown to be responsible both for well-nigh treasonable neglect of the national defenses in the three years before the War of 1812, and the mistaken belief in London that the United States would back down from its repeated assertions that continuation of the Orders in Council meant war.

The size of Mr. Brant's study makes some sniping inevitable. This reviewer found the detailed, complicated narrative of the diplomatic negotiations (easily three-quarters of the book) a bit torturous to follow at times. Furthermore, Mr. Brant's partiality toward his subject seems to grow with each volume – something which seems to stem in some measure at least from his understandable devotion rather than being completely justified in the materials available. The ease with which Mr. Brant excuses Madison for being duped by the Henry letters in 1811 is a case in point.

But these are small matters, and should not obscure Mr. Brant's substantial contribution, both in making the first thorough reëxamination of the Jefferson-Madison

administrations in over fifty years, and in giving back to the nation in all its fullness the personality and services of a great Virginian. In an 1888 letter to John Hay, Henry Adams wrote that "the frenzy of finishing the big book has seized me, until, as the end comes nigh, I hurry off the chapters as though they were letters to you." Mr. Brant has abandoned frenzy and contributed another volume full of incisive scholarship to a study that ranks with the greatest of all American political biographies.

RALPH L. KETCHAM

The Papers of James Madison

The Presbyterian Enterprise, Sources of American Presbyterian History. By MAURICE W. ARMSTRONG, LEFFERTS A. LOETSCHER, and CHARLES A. ANDERSON. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1956. 336 pp. $4.50.

THIS volume, commemorating the "founding of the first Presbytery in America in 1706," appropriately begins with an extract from the minutes of the early sessions of that court and concludes with certain sections of a letter circulated by the General Council of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. in 1953. The intervening documents present an informing and moving picture of the development of Presbyterianism in the Colonies and, later, the United States. These are skillfully and constructively prefaced by brief editorial introductions, which occasionally indicate the sympathies of the authors.

The arrangement falls into three chronological sections: "Colonial"; "Mid-passage," which closes with the union of the Old and New School branches of the Presbyterian Church in 1869; and "Recent Presbyterianism." The subject matter concerns the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, plus a few papers pertaining to other Presbyterian bodies – Reformed, Cumberland, United Presbyterian, and Presbyterian, U.S. Two selections relate to the Southern Presbyterian Church since its organization in 1861. An address "to all the Churches," a "masterly open letter" promulgated by that denomination's first General Assembly, constitutes the longest single document in the volume. The editors evince a discerning appreciation of the Southern viewpoint which far more than compensates for the violence done Dixie geography by their locating Oglethorpe University in North Carolina.

Virginians, in company with the compilers, may examine Hanover Presbytery's memorial regarding religious establishments, presented to the Virginia Assembly in the fall of 1776; join Francis Makemie before Lord Cornbury in 1706/07, as he demonstrates effective mastery of the laws relating to religion; attend the Covenanting exercises conducted by Alexander Craighead (later a resident of the present Bath County) at Middle Octorara, Pennsylvania, in 1743; and mingle with the Hanover militia in 1758 as Samuel Davies discourses on "The Curse of Cowardice." The almost ubiquitous W. S. Plumer is briefly introduced and there are references to several other Dominion clergymen. President Woodrow Wilson, "son of a Southern Presbyterian minister and himself a ruling elder in the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.," is represented by a portion of his address on "Individual Responsibility," delivered at Chicago in 1909.

Certain materials were necessarily reproduced from intermediary sources, but this need not have been true of the above mentioned "Address." The reviewer had difficulty in making use of the Bibliography ("List of Documents Quoted") and found the Index far from complete. A detailed table of contents would have been of substantial assistance.

Presbyterian Enterprise is a noteworthy addition to history, both denominational and national; for the compilers have succeeded admirably in their endeavor to include documents contributing "to the better understanding of the influence of the Church on the life of the nation." The writer anticipates making recurring use of this welcome publication, as will surely be true of many others concerned with American Presbyterianism and that land in which it has exercised a memorable ministry for more than two and one-half centuries.

THOMAS H. SPENCE, JR.

The Historical Foundation of the
Presbyterian and Reformed Churches

Nottoway Parish, 1784: With a Brief Account of the Established Church in England and Colonial Virginia. By W. R. TURNER. Blackstone, Virginia: W. R. Turner, 1956. iv, 42 pp. $1.50.

THIS booklet written in commemoration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the revival of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Nottoway Parish discloses painstaking research, rich knowledge of the subject, and deep devotion to Virginia and her Mother Church.

In chapter one the author indicates the origin of the Colonial Church in Virginia and writes briefly of the Reformation which took place in the Church of England. The author's treatment of the Reformation is too brief to enable him to do full justice to the meaning of the events involved in that struggle for ecclesiastical liberation and rehabilitation. This reviewer wishes that the author had pointed out the fact that under Queen Mary the Church of England and the nation were given, by Reginald Cardinal Pole, full papal pardon for their *sin* of schism, and by that act were restored to full and complete communion with the See of Rome. An action which was, in its day, acknowledgement that *no new* Church of England, had been *founded* by Henry VIII, but that the *old* Church of England, having been papally reconciled, lived on. This reviewer also wishes that the author had mentioned the fact that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth the papacy, by its excommunication of Elizabeth and her adherents in 1569 (made effective in 1570), broke from the restored communion which it had established in the reign of Mary.

Chapters two to seven constitute an outline of the history of the Colonial Church in Virginia from its founding at Jamestown in 1607 to the eve of the American Revolution. This is not only informative but timely since Virginia celebrates this year the Three-Hundred-Fiftieth Anniversary of the arrival of the first settlers at Jamestown. The remaining chapters deal with the main objective of the book and present a rich historical description of the death and resurrection of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Nottoway Parish.

The List of Marriages, given as addenda, are not only a genealogical gold mine of information but also show something of the impact made by the clergy of Nottoway Parish upon those who turned to them for guidance and God's benediction upon their lives.

Portraits of two great men of God, the Reverend Churchill Jones Gibson and the Right Reverend Beverley Dandridge Tucker, embellish the book. The drawing of St. Luke's Church, Blackstone, Virginia, is indicative not only of the ongoing life of the parish but also of the truth in Faber's noble hymn, "Faith of our fathers living still."

GEORGE J. CLEAVELAND

Richmond, Virginia

A History of the Diocese of Richmond: The Formative Years. By JAMES HENRY BAILEY II. Richmond: Chancery Office, Diocese of Richmond, 1956. 249 pp. $2.25.

THE present Diocese of Richmond with its 100 parishes, eighty-three chapels with resident chaplains, more than 260 priests, and 134,000 Catholic people is a far cry from the pitifully few churches, priests, and faithful that marked its history for well over a half century of its organized existence. It is appropriate that this volume should have appeared on the eve of the celebration in November 1956 of the double golden jubilee of Richmond's Sacred Heart Cathedral and the priesthood of its ninth bishop, the Most Reverend Peter L. Ireton. It has also been fifty years since Father F. Joseph Magri published his slender and popular work, *The Catholic Church in the City and Diocese of Richmond* (Richmond, 1906), written to commemorate the dedication of the handsome cathedral that had been built through the generosity of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Fortune Ryan. In its original form Mr. Bailey's book was submitted as a dissertation for the Ph.D. degree at Georgetown University. The physical aspects of the work leave little to be desired in the fine paper, excellent printing, and, as far as this reviewer could observe, its freedom from typographical errors, except for "Panic" instead of "Pain" (p. 23). The narrative proper runs to 160 pages and is supplemented by thirty-eight pages of footnotes, a ten-page bibliography, four illustrations, and an adequate index.

Since Catholicism in colonial Virginia was virtually non-existent Dr. Bailey's principal concern was the period from the establishment of the See of Richmond in July 1820 to the death of its third bishop, John McGill, in January 1872. In few Catholic congregations in the country was the early nineteenth-century plague of lay trusteeism more acute than in Norfolk, and the blight it left in its wake seriously retarded the progress of Catholicism in that area. When one adds to that fact the thoroughly Protestant character of Virginia in the period, the absence of Catholic immigrants who did not go to the South in any great numbers, the nativist fury against the few Catholics in the state, the ravages of the Civil War, and the scarcity of priests and general poverty of the Catholic settlers, it is small wonder that the Church showed relatively little progress in the Old Dominion in the years covered by this book.

The most original contribution made by the author lies in the use to which he has put the unpublished correspondence of bishops and priests in the archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore (rather than the "Baltimore Cathedral Archives," p. 217), the archives at Richmond, and those of St. Joseph's Central House, Emmitsburg, Maryland (not "St. Joseph's College," p. 217). He gives evidence of having carefully combed these key depositories for material, and as a result he has been able to fill in a number of the gaps left by previous writers like John Gilmary Shea, Magri, and Peter Guilday. He has likewise corrected several errors, for example, the view held by a number of people that John Floyd, Buchanan's Secretary of War, was a Catholic (p. 66). The work would have been improved, however, by a more ample treatment at times of the secular background, and there are a number of questions left unanswered, for example, why Father David Whelan left the diocese and transferred to Cincinnati in 1848 (p. 86), and what was the sequel of the labor dispute among the Irish working on the railroad tunnel near Staunton in 1853 (p. 134). Was Father Downey able to be of any assistance in winning them a raise in pay from their miserable seventy-five cents a day, or did he merely quell the disturbance? In Dr. Bailey's account of the Know-Nothings in Virginia (pp. 114-121) one misses any reference to the standard work of Ray A. Billington, *The Protestant Crusade* (New York, 1938), or to the more recent volume of W. Darrell Overdyke, *The Know-Nothing Party in the South* (Baton Rouge, 1950), either of which would have probably stood him in better stead than Gustavus Myers, *History of Bigotry in the United States* (New York, 1943).

The following slips were noted. It is not correct to speak of Mother Seton's Sisters of Charity of St. Joseph of Emmitsburg, Maryland, as "Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul" (pp. 32, 76) before the union in 1850 of the American community with the French sisters; the conduct of Thomas Carbry, the erratic Dominican at Norfolk, is not adequately explained by characterizing him as a man of "peculiar temperament" (p. 41), as Mr. Bailey's own evidence on that wandering friar (p. 47) makes quite clear; in 1821 one did not speak of the Holy See as "the Vatican" (p. 54) in the way we do today; neither McGill – nor any other bishop – was "summoned" to Rome in 1854 for the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception (p. 140); the bishops of the world were invited by Pius IX for the ceremony; the interesting episode about the unhappy efforts to make Anthony Keiley an ambassador in 1885 (pp. 168-169) belongs in a footnote, not in a narrative dealing with the early 1870's.

Finally, there are two features of this book which, in the mind of the reviewer, detract from its value. First, there is an excessive amount of documentation as, for example, in Chapter II where only one of the first ten footnotes is really needed, and many of the 270 footnotes of the thirty-eight pages of Chapter IV are likewise unnecessary. The second point relates to what one might call the filiopietistic tone of the writing. An instance can be found in the quotation given from Bishop Kelly's letter of April 26, 1821, to Archbishop Maréchal which is offered as proof for the fact that Kelly had "given every evidence of zeal for the flock entrusted to his care" (p. 55). As a matter of fact, Kelly's appointment to the See of Richmond was a mistake, a mistake which he never succeeded in overcoming by reason of his own lack of sound judgment regarding the personalities and issues involved in the schism at Norfolk.

To say, therefore, that Kelly's failure to accomplish more in Virginia was "due to no fault of his own" (p. 56) is to give a curious reading to an unfortunate career, insofar as that career was related to the Catholic Church in Virginia. In the same vein the author's tendency to accompany his account of the deaths of churchmen with pious reflections as, for example, of McGill that "his zealous and courageous soul was released into the care of its Maker" (p. 170) produces an impression of immaturity. Bishop McGill's administration, as revealed by Mr. Bailey, was a thoroughly fine and noble one which needed no such flourish at the good prelate's departure from this world.

The above criticism are not meant, however, to convey the impression that Mr. Bailey's work has been carelessly done. His sources were meager, his predecessors like Guilday had already exploited much of the best evidence, and his subject matter – the Virginia Catholics between 1820 and 1872 – were both scarce in number and obscure in station. In spite of these handicaps he has drawn together the best accounts already in print, added some new insights from archival sources, and corrected some errors. Thus he has provided a volume that, while not free from defects, will be useful to all students of religious history in the South.

John Tracy Ellis

The Catholic University of America

A Pictorial History of the Negro in America. By Langston Hughes and Melton Meltzer. New York: Crown Publishers, 1956. iii, 316 pp. $5.95.

Although this book adds nothing that is substantially new to the field of Negro history, it is an important work to the writing of Negro historiography, in that the book is an attempt to assemble in a single volume, for the first time, a collection of illustrations describing graphically the life of the Negro. The reproductions are designed primarily to show the Negro's relationship to American history from the time of the Africans arrival at Jamestown in 1619 until the present. In pursuing this goal Messrs. Hughes and Meltzer trace in photographs, prints, engravings, cartoons and in text the story of the Negro as a slave and as a freeman, who he is, where he came from, what he has contributed, how he has been affected by American life and, finally, where he is headed. The life of the Negro is also narrated by the use of a series of editorials, letters, posters, handbills, and pamphlets which range from the early days of the slave trade until the recent desegregation decision of the United States Supreme Court.

In viewing the illustrations in the book and in reading the textual material, however, one gets the idea that the authors planned to have their *Pictorial History* depict the Negro's dramatic struggle for freedom. This is inferred by placing on the title page of the work a picture of a chained Negro who is looking to heaven and saying, "Am I not a Man and a Brother?" Another inference of this probable aim is demonstrated by the type of poems the authors selected to illustrate the life of the Negro. For example, they used a poem of a slave, George Moses Horton of North Carolina, which said:

> How long have I in bondage lain
> And languish to be free!

Alas! and must I still complain-
Deprived of liberty.

The suggestion is also brought to the reviewer's mind by the authors' use of reproductions of documents which are synonymous with freedom such as the Declaration of Independence, the *Appeal* of David Walker, the Emancipation Proclamation, and famous court decisions relative to the constitutional history of the Negro. In addition to these illustrations the authors also present pictorial accounts of Negro participation in all movements which had as their goal freedom either for the Negro people or for all Americans. In the book, for example, are illustrations showing the Negro as a participant in the abolition movement, in all of the nation's wars, including the one which was "to save the world for democracy," and in the march on Washington for legislation dealing with fair employment practices. Finally, the concluding picture summarizes very well the results of the struggle by depicting a young Negro child, Allen Turner, who aspires to become a pilot when he reaches manhood. The authors comment on this aspiration by saying Turner and other similar Negroes can look forward to entering any career they choose.

Perhaps the *Pictorial History of the Negro in America* will have little appeal to the student of history because what Messrs. Hughes and Meltzer have shown in their book has already been told by Doctors John Hope Franklin, Carter G. Woodson, Herbert Aptheker, and other students of Negro history. But, the work, no doubt, would be helpful to the casual reader who wishes to get a factual and vivid pictorial history of the Negro's struggle for freedom.

Tinsley L. Spraggins

Virginia Union University

Memoirs of the Abbots of Old Bellevue. By James P. C. Southall. Charlottesville: The University of Virginia Press, 1955. 394 pp. $10.00.

It is rarely that we find a man who is highly gifted in both scientific and literary fields, but Professor James P. C. Southall is such a man. His recently published *Memoirs of the Abbots of Old Bellevue* is the work of a literary craftsman, just as his earlier works on geometrical and physiological optics blazed new trails in that branch of physics.

Memoirs of the Abbots of Old Bellevue is a delightful "period piece," written by Mr. Southall at Charlottesville, following his retirement from a brilliant career on the faculty of Columbia University. It supplements and enlarges upon his engaging *In the Days of My Youth* (1947), which recounts his experiences as a student at the University of Virginia (1888-1893).

Mr. Southall's latest work is not only an affectionate tribute to the remarkable Abbot family, long connected with the old Bellevue High School in Bedford County, but it is at the same time distinctly autobiographical. A goodly portion is concerned with the author's courtship of, and married life with, Miss Jeannie Abbot, the remarkably talented and charming daughter of William Richardson Abbot, long

the principal of Bellevue High School—which was not a high school at all in the modern sense, but a private school.

The book is shot through with vivid pictures of life in the latter years of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth, with many hilarious anecdotes, and with literary allusions and classical quotations. The scene moves from the author's native Virginia to upstate New York (where he was on the faculty of Hobart College); thence to Alabama, where he taught at Alabama Polytechnic Institute at Auburn before accepting a chair at Columbia; to Columbia, and finally back to his years of retirement at his attractive Charlottesville home, humorously christened "Suncust."

We are regaled in the book with pungent stories of Bellevue High School and its reigning potentate, William R. Abbot – an impressive personage, surely, whose curriculum stressed English, Latin, Greek, and mathematics, and whose disciplinary measures were firm, yet kindly. His pupils included many men who later became leaders. Bellevue was one of the Virginia academies which played so vital an educational role after the Civil War. It went out of existence in the early years of this century, primarily, it appears, because Mr. Abbot became disgusted when his pupils began objecting to sleeping on shuck mattresses and breaking ice on the water buckets in their rooms on wintry mornings.

Memoirs of the Abbots of Old Bellevue is an arresting book from various standpoints. One is intrigued, for example, by Mr. Southall's nostalgic accounts of the simple pleasures of those days, long before the era of automobiles, radios, TV sets, and hip flasks. In looking back through the mist of years, he tends to describe nearly all his contemporaries as beautiful, handsome, able, brave, statuesque, or scintillating—or a combination of these virtues. But this fault, if it be a fault, is readily excused, for his book is one of the most delightful of its type this reviewer has ever read.

VIRGINIUS DABNEY

Richmond Times-Dispatch

The Quality of Mercy: Judge Samuel Brown Witt, A Memoir for his Grandchildren. By ELLEN CASKIE WITT. Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, 1956. 187 pp. $4.00.

The Quality of Mercy is a tender chronicle composed by Judge Witt's daughter, Ellen Caskie Witt, for family edification, and as such fulfills its specification. To the stranger this brief book presents too many uncharactered names, and wanders through locations too wreathed in the author's affection to raise any recognition in the uninitiated.

However, the career of Samuel Brown Witt could well be told beyond the expansive circle of his kin. For as practicing lawyer, commonwealth's attorney, member of the legislature, and Judge of the Richmond Hustings Court, he was prominent in the bar of Virginia during one of the most earnest periods of its history, 1872-1912. These years Judge Witt described as the time when "ignorance, prejudice and intolerance haunted the places of justice" until "with devotion to duty and right" the bar of Virginia "brought back the rule of law" in a reorganized state government.

For the grandchildren Miss Witt describes a placid life in Richmond between 1889 and 1912, so small-town in character that the Judge's children played on the City Hall elevators, and even in the court rooms until shooed out by the cry of "Oyez! Oyez! God save the Commonwealth." So small-town was it that horse-drawn revelry was the affectionate smile on the face of neighbourhood gossip.

In more solemn history, beneath this happy surface moved change and eruption to be strengthened or checked by judgements of the Hustings Court during the twenty-three years Judge Witt sat on that bench. Labor and industry were finding opposing powers without consciences. Saloon licences outnumbered safety. Through the criminal courts freedmen were stumbling from carefree ignorance to civil responsibility. Miss Witt's joyous gentlemen of the Westmoreland Club were, in their serious hours, the forces of progress from desolation to prosperity, from terror to secure citizenship. Faced with rioting strikers, with whom mayor and police force openly sided, Judge Witt upheld the law of the land to maintain municipal order, instructing the jury that "in a riot there are no accessories, rather all are principals." Having no statute law against business monopoly, Judge Witt checked a conspiracy to monopolize the ice delivery industry, a prime necessity of that day, with a judgment based on common law against criminal conspiracies which "tend to control a commodity absolutely essential to the use of the public." He cited, "So use your own that others be not injured." For the Negro before his court, he laid down the rule that education made the defendant more liable to increased punishment, while many an unknowing colored person got by with familiarity in the courtroom because he had not intended contempt of court. "Such a rule," Miss Witt quotes from an editorial of the day, "is in strict accord with the practice prevailing generally in the South of leniency in the courts toward the Negro because of his lack of education."

With justified pride Miss Witt tells of the silver service presented to her father by the colored people of Richmond "for administering the law to all with equal justice, tempered with mercy." The presentation was made by two leading colored preachers, and the testimonial signed by "a few of your admiring friends, representing the many," who hoped that the Judge would "refresh himself" during long hours on the bench.

The author quotes press, resolutions, letters, and speeches that show Judge Witt to have been a just judge and beloved co-worker in a day that called not for giants of leadership, but rather for courageously optimistic gentlemen to band together, under desperate civil conditions, to establish order and safety for all, and opportunity for those who could use it.

This is a light book, lightly done, that suggests that the author might grasp the subject with broader purpose and give us a story of the Richmond Hustings Court when it was lending ballast to a rocking ship of state, not with politicking and pressures, but with basic common law, fair dealing, and a knowledge of the vast variety of human nature.

Frances Norton Mason

Richmond, Virginia

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THE LIFE OF JOHN SMITH
An English Soldier

By HENRY WHARTON

Translated with an Essay by LAURA POLANYI STRIKER

For the first time this important Latin work is translated into English and published.

Captain John Smith (1580-1631) has probably caused more controversy among scholars than any other figure in American history. The unruly son of an English tenant farmer, he ran away from home at the age of fifteen to go to sea. While still in his teens he fought in France, Holland, and Hungary, and in his early twenties he was captured, taken to Turkey, and sold as a slave, but he escaped and returned to England in time to sail for Virginia with the first settlers. His daring and enterprise saved the colony from destruction and established Smith as the first American hero.

Was Captain John Smith a most successful liar or was he accurate and truthful in his "True Travels"?

Henry Wharton (1664-1695), the great restoration scholar and divine, tackled the problem, well known now as the "John Smith veracity controversy," and concluded that it was Smith's position as a commoner which jeopardized his merits in 17th-century opinion. Reëvaluating Smith's experiences, Wharton provides confirmation for the truth of many episodes that scholars have been inclined to doubt. Wharton's work, written in Latin in 1685, remained an unpublished manuscript in the Lambeth Library in London until now.

Dr. Laura Polanyi Striker, Hungarian scholar formerly of the University of Budapest, is author of "John Smith's Hungary and Transylvania," which appeared as an appendix in Bradford Smith's *Captain John Smith, His Life and Legend*. In her introductory essay, Dr. Striker has built up a convincing circumstantial case for the hypothesis that Wharton worked from a manuscript no longer extant and has explained the circumstances under which Wharton wrote his life of John Smith.

In an appendix Richard Beale Davis of the University of Tennessee recounts an earlier unsuccessful attempt to publish this book in the United States. Francis Walker Gilmer, the friend of Thomas Jefferson, obtained a copy of the Latin manuscript in 1825 but died before he could publish it. This copy was presented to the Virginia Historical Society in 1851, only to disappear, probably during the Civil War. Now, over a century later, the Society makes Wharton's Life of John Smith available to the English-speaking world.

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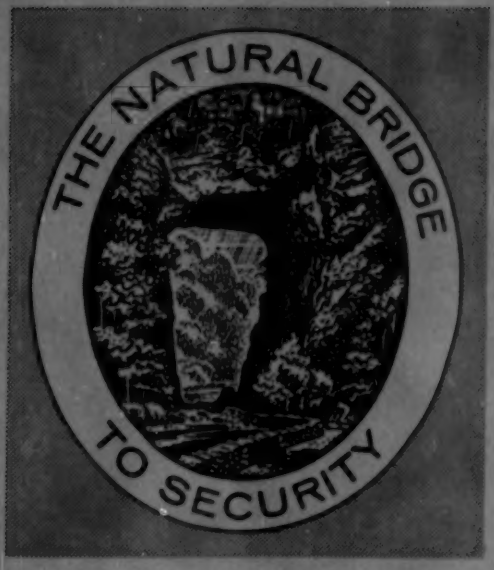

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